

Theater Outside Athens

This volume brings together archaeologists, art historians, philologists, literary scholars, political scientists, and historians to articulate the ways in which western Greek theater was distinct from that of the Greek mainland, and, at the same time, to investigate how the two traditions interacted. The chapters intersect and build on each other in their pursuit of a number of shared questions and themes: the place of theater in the cultural life of Sicilian and South Italian “colonial cities”; theater as a method of cultural self-identification; shared mythological themes in performance texts and theatrical vase-painting; and the reflection and analysis of Sicilian and South Italian theater in the work of Athenian philosophers and playwrights. Together, the chapters explore central problems in the study of western Greek theater. By gathering a range of perspectives and methods, this volume offers a wide-ranging examination of this hitherto neglected history.

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Theater Outside Athens

Drama in Greek Sicily and South Italy

Edited by KATHRYN BOSHER



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Introduction

KATHRYN BOSHER

The development of ancient Greek theater in South Italy and Sicily is rarely studied, perhaps because the evidence is disparate and fragmentary and requires a command of several disciplines. In an effort to bridge these disciplinary divides, this volume brings together the work of archaeologists, art historians, philologists, literary scholars, political scientists and historians. The two main goals of the volume are to articulate the ways in which Greek theater in the west was distinct from that of the Greek mainland, and, at the same time, to investigate how the two traditions influenced each other.

Locating theater in the history of Sicily and South Italy

The tangle of cultures in ancient Sicily and South Italy complicates the archaeological, historical and literary record of early Greek settlement in the west. Early Greek trading posts in the Bronze Age seem not to have disrupted local cultures, but did perhaps lay the groundwork for the second wave of migrants from various cities in mainland Greece, the Aegean islands and Asia Minor beginning in the eighth century. At the same time, Phoenicians set up trading centers on the western side of Sicily. Etruscans from farther north also engaged in trade with the Greeks and have left a record in the material culture. It is difficult to generalize about Greek interaction with native groups in Sicily and Italy, since the nature of these varied widely.¹

¹ On Minoan and Mycenaean contact with the west, see Vagnetti (1996); on the Phoenicians in the western Mediterranean, see Garbini (1996). See Leighton (1999) and Antonaccio (2001) on pre-Greek culture and Greek interactions. An elegantly readable, but now out of date, history of Sicily is Finley (1979); De Angelis' survey of Sicilian history from c. 750 to c. 250 is forthcoming from Oxford University Press. Pugliese Carratelli's (1996) richly illustrated volume (in which Vagnetti and Garbini's essays can be found) includes a range of essays on many aspects of western Greece. In this volume, "west" and "western" refer to Sicily and South Italy.

As Jonathan Hall sets out in the first chapter of this volume, the Greek settlers in the eighth century and later came from various city-states and the settlers followed different sorts of settlement practices. Though some cities were founded with mixed groups of settlers, by and large Greek cities seem to have defined themselves against each other, rather than identifying with a wider Greek culture. From the fragmented and often partial evidence emerges a fascinating picture of Greek cities evolving variously under a set of new conditions.

From the Archaic period, poetry remains in scattered fragments. On the north coast of Sicily at Himera, for example, the poet Stesichorus took up mythical subjects, some drawn from Homer and others more relevant to the historical circumstances in which he worked.² The details of the performance of Stesichorus' poetry remain controversial, but there is no doubt that its primary mode of transmission was performance. Other poetic performance traditions flourished in South Italy and on the island and these form a backdrop to the advent of formal theater in the fifth century. Indeed, already in the Archaic period, traveling poets may have brought lyric and choral poetry to Syracuse and to other great western cities.³ In Chapter 2, Kathryn Morgan takes up early poetry in Sicily and South Italy and discusses proto-dramatic performance genres that were popular in the west. To this literary evidence can be added the art historical evidence of komast iconography found in the west, not only on vessels imported from Corinth, but also on locally made objects.⁴ Such figures have been thoroughly analyzed for their relationship to early comedy in Greece itself, and their presence in Sicily suggests a regional delight in the same proto-comic dances and performances. Readers will note a similarity between these characters and those of the later terracotta figurines and comic (once 'phlyax') figures on vases discussed by Bonnie MacLachlan, Chris Dearden and Richard Green in this volume. In both cases, padded belly and buttocks, and exaggerated phalluses emphasize the body and the bawdiness of this dance and the farcical comedies with which we might connect them. To this same Archaic period, however, we also owe the grandest of monuments: the great temples of Selinus, Syracuse, Agrigento, Metapontum, Paestum and other places. These towering stone monuments to the gods not only proclaimed the wealth of the island and of the coastal cities in South Italy, but also the ambition of the powerful leaders determined to mark the grandeur of their respective cities.⁵ In Chapter 9, Clemente Marconi explores the

² Cf. Willi (2008) 51–118; Morgan, this volume.

³ Cf. Hunter and Rutherford (2009); Kowalzig (2007). ⁴ Cf. Smith (2007) 59–60.

⁵ E.g. Marconi (2007) 29–60.

shift when, some centuries later, these great cities took up building theaters instead of temples. Then theaters would mark the landscape and define the cities, as temples had done so powerfully in the Archaic period.

By the beginning of the fifth century, some western Greek cities had been established for nearly 250 years, and their monumental architecture rivaled that of mainland Greek cities. Likewise, the philosophy and poetry of western cities had become justly famous in the persons of Pythagoras, Stesichorus and Ibycus, among others. Great rulers, tyrants, of the western cities (for example, Hippocrates, Gelon, Theron and Hieron) amassed wealth and a broad if unstable control over large portions of the area. It is in this early period, in the first half of the fifth century, that we have the first literary evidence for comic dramas and for tragedy. The earliest name that emerges from the chaotic evidence is that of Epicharmus, fêted by Aristotle for his original and formative comic plots (Arist. *Poet.* 1449b5). Since relatively little survives of his substantial body of work, he rarely comes to the fore in works on Greek theater. In order to recuperate him for the field at large, we include two chapters on his work by experts on the subject. Both Andreas Willi and Lucía Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén have published extensively on Epicharmus in German and Spanish respectively, but these are their first major essays for an English-speaking readership. In Chapter 3, Willi develops an argument that Epicharmus' plays have a specifically 'colonial' character. In Chapter 4, Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén examines the fragmentary remains of the influences on which Epicharmus must have drawn and that help us define and understand his work.

As in previous generations, local poets like Epicharmus shared the stage with traveling superstars. To the court of the Syracusan tyrant Hieron, may have come not only Simonides, Bacchylides and Pindar, but also Aeschylus.⁶ All three have left poetry or plays that celebrate the tyrant himself. Sicilian tyrants were not the only powerful and wealthy rulers to recast history and myth and to engage poets to help in reformulating it to serve their own purposes, but they do seem to have been particularly good at it.⁷ In this volume, David Smith investigates complex manipulations of the myths of Ion and Xuthus in the poetry of Stesichorus, in the *Aetnaeae* of Aeschylus and in the *Ion* of Euripides.

The second half of the fifth century, marked by political upheaval and difficult democratic struggles, has left us only the fragmentary work of

⁶ Cf. Arnson Svarlien (1990–1); Bremer (1991); Guardì (1980); Herington (1967).

⁷ See Bosher, this volume, for a discussion of Aeschylus' *Persians* as particularly well suited to the Syracusan political and theatrical situation. See Dougherty (1991 and 1993) for discussions of poetry and tragedy geared to suit Hieron's political ends.

the mime writer, Sophron. In Chapter 16, David Kutzko takes up these mimes through the more complete work of the later Herodas. There is still debate, difficult to settle, about whether Sophron's comic pieces were performed, but it is generally agreed that if they were performed it was to small groups of people in intimate spaces, perhaps most likely before elite audiences. This contrasts starkly with what we believe to have been the performance practice under the tyrant Hieron in the first half of the fifth century, whose investment in theater seems to have been to serve broad public propagandistic ends.

This quiet period for public theater in the latter half of the fifth century ended when Dionysius I seized power. He ruled, increasing his territory through Sicily and up the Italian peninsula, from 405 to 367. In this volume, Anne Duncan discusses Dionysius' own efforts at writing tragedy, and Sara Monoson analyzes his investment in theater through the eyes of his prolific critic and contemporary, Plato. In the middle and at the end of the fourth century, other Sicilian tragedians and writers of comedy and mime appear in the historical record.⁸

During Dionysius' reign, vases of tragic and comic performance began to be painted, not only in Sicily, but also up the Tyrrhenian coast in Paestum and, on the other side of the peninsula, around Tarentum and Metapontum. Most famous of those found in South Italy is the imported Pronomos vase of Attic manufacture, but there is a huge range of locally made vases that depict both tragedy and comedy.⁹ These complicated artistic artifacts are particularly striking because they appear in such great numbers in South Italy and Sicily, far greater numbers than have hitherto been discovered in any other part of the fourth-century Greek world.¹⁰ In this volume, Oliver Taplin considers what these vases can tell us about traveling actors in the west. His model demonstrates how Athenian tragedies and comedies might have been brought to the west. By contrast, Luigi Todisco describes the

⁸ Tragedy: the tyrant Mamercus of Catana, Achaeus of Syracuse, Sosiphanes possibly of Syracuse, Patroclus of Thurii. Comedy: Alexis of Thurii, of whose work some 130 titles remain, and many fragments; Philemon, probably from Syracuse; Archestratus, Pamphilus and Carnus from the court of Dionysius I; Apollodorus of Gela; Eudocius of Syracuse. Mime: Xenarchus; Theodorus of Syracuse; Beotus of Syracuse or Tarentum; Philistus of Syracuse; Nimphodorus and perhaps Cleon from South Italy. These are recorded in Todisco (2002) 65–6, who collects the ancient testimonies for these names, and also records contemporary actors and musicians. See Dearden, this volume.

⁹ For discussion of the Pronomos vase, see Taplin and Wyles (2010). For tragic vases, see Taplin (2007a), and for comic, see Taplin (1993); and for both, Todisco (2002).

¹⁰ See Appendix B following Chapter 14 by Richard Green setting out the number and types of comic vases from South Italy and Sicily, in comparison to those from other parts of the ancient Greek world.

special difficulties that might have been involved in communicating the meaning of these vases to non-Greek native populations in South Italy. He begins with the remarkable fact that many of the vases in South Italy were found in native, rather than Greek, centers and sets out the find-spots and groupings of these vases in a series of important lists. Agreeing with Giuliani that non-Greeks did not witness performances of the plays themselves, Todisco examines ways that the Greek myths on the vases might have been explained to non-Greek-speakers. Thus Taplin and Todisco represent the two sides of a difficult debate, which has its roots in a long-standing problem of the degree of connection of these theatrical vase-paintings to actual performance. In presenting two contradictory chapters, we hope to give the reader a sense of the possible range of interpretation of these vases.

In the following three chapters, Chris Dearden, J. R. Green and Bonnie MacLachlan discuss the western Greek comic vases, once known as ‘phlyax’, which are remarkable not only for their explicit presentation of performance, but also for the enormous quantity found, and continuing to be found, in the west.¹¹ In these chapters, each author approaches the vases from different perspectives. Dearden puts the vases in their larger theatrical and historical context, demonstrating their close and particular links to the western Greek context. Likewise, MacLachlan examines some vases in conjunction with dramatic figurines, within the specific context of religious ritual, arguing for a close connection between comedy and funerary ritual. Green, by contrast, takes a very close look at artistic development in the vases over the decades, mapping out changes in style. These different approaches show aspects of the relevance of the vases not only as artifacts in their own right, but also as important pieces of evidence in the history of theater and of religion in the Greek West.

In the fourth century, theaters began to take pride of place in the Sicilian and South Italian cities as Clemente Marconi describes in Chapter 9. They were built high up on the acropoleis not only where audiences could survey the vast panoramas of rolling landscape or look out to sea, but also positioned so that the theaters themselves, grand buildings glinting in the sun, could be seen by travelers. In the following chapter, Stefano Vassallo describes for the first time the remarkable new discovery of a fourth-century theater at Montagna dei Cavalli (see the front cover of this volume), which he excavated in 2007.

In the second half of the fourth century, under the leadership of Timoleon and then Agathocles, Sicily became increasingly prosperous. Agathocles

¹¹ For a recent introduction to these vases, see Csapo (in press).

ruled as a tyrant, perhaps cruelly as the ancient sources report, from 317 to 289. Upheaval following his death was quelled, briefly at first by King Pyrrhus of Epirus, and then for some fifty years (c. 269–215 BC) by King Hieron (Hieron II), who made a treaty with Rome and set about enriching his Sicilian kingdom.

In the final section of the volume, ‘Hellenistic Reflections,’ we move to this third-century world of Hellenistic Kings and to a new set of political and social conditions. Benjamin Acosta-Hughes discusses Theocritus, a Sicilian poet, who worked for some time at the court of the Ptolemies in Alexandria, and David Kutzko takes up the Sicilian Herodas in the context of the larger tradition of Sicilian mime. Though these two writers belong to a vastly different age, their work consciously reflects the old Doric tradition of mime writing begun perhaps as early as Epicharmus, and certainly with Sophron. Through analysis of some of Theocritus’ extant work and all of Herodas that remains, we can see the late versions of this peculiarly Sicilian comic form, and through them we gain some insight into the earlier, more obscure, tradition.¹²

Themes of the volume

A basic interpretative task in the study of western Greek theater is to determine whether a regional theatrical tradition developed in the Italian peninsula and the island of Sicily, and how this tradition might be defined. This question is very hard to address using one category of evidence in isolation, because the answers from different disciplines, considered separately, are often contradictory. Earlier generations assumed a sharp divide between Athenian and west Greek traditions, interpreting, for example, the South Italian and Sicilian western Greek comic vases (then ‘phlyax’) as products of a rustic native drama, wholly distinct from that of Athens.¹³ This assumption has now been corrected through analysis of several vases, which have been shown to represent Attic Comedy.¹⁴ The interpretative pendulum is in danger of swinging to the other extreme point of view: that fourth-century Sicilian and South Italian theater was all Athenian and owed nothing to local playwrights and poets. A salutary corrective to such art historical arguments comes from study of the Doric literary tradition in the west, in, for example, the work of scholars such as Andreas Willi. Willi argues that a distinctive

¹² On later developments in mime and pantomime traditions, see Hall and Wyles (2008).

¹³ E.g. Heydemann (1886). ¹⁴ Taplin (1993a) and Csapo (1986).

'colonial' mentality is evident in the Doric writing of Epicharmus, as it was also in his Sicilian predecessor, Stesichorus.¹⁵ Later luminaries in the Doric tradition, Theocritus and Herodas also owe much to both the Doric as well as Athenian traditions of drama, and the last two chapters of the volume take up the complicated influences on the two Doric poets' work.¹⁶ Still more firmly embedded in the territory, the Greek theaters of Italy and Sicily dot the landscape, and analysis of their place in the geography and culture of Sicilian cities yields information about the political and social role of theater in the Classical and Hellenistic societies of the west.¹⁷ All the papers in this volume take up this problem of defining what South Italian and Sicilian Greek theater might be, and point to characteristics of a tradition that is particularly western Greek. We hope to have begun to lay the groundwork for a definition of the character of western Greek theater by drawing on the varied answers offered by literary, archaeological and art historical sources.

Building on this fundamental work of describing a western regional theatrical tradition, the volume investigates the dynamics between Athenian and South Italian and Sicilian theater. The chapters examine the complex strands of influence that run, not just from Athens to the west, but from the west to Athens as well. These studies are framed by Hall's introductory chapter in which he sets out the broader historical context of the relation between mainland Greek cities and those of the west. His reinterpretation of the old models of center and periphery is picked up and employed in the subsequent chapters of Morgan on western song-culture in the panhellenic context; in Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén and Willi's study of Epicharmus between Sicily and the greater Greek world; in Bosher and Duncan's studies of tyrants' use of theater in their self-aggrandizing propaganda; in Smith's argument that Stesichorus, Aeschylus and Euripides engaged in a literary battle about mythical traditions and land claims; in Monoson's study of Plato's interest in Dionysius. Likewise, the influence of Athens on western Greek theater is carefully evaluated in Taplin's study of troupes of actors bringing Athenian drama to the west; in Todisco's investigation of how Athenian tragic stories were communicated to non-Greek speakers in South Italy; in Dearden's discussion of the comic scenes depicted on 'phlyax' vases; and especially in Acosta-Hughes' and Kutzko's studies of the influence of both Athenian and Doric traditions on the two Hellenistic poets, Theocritus and Herodas.

¹⁵ Willi (2008) and in this volume. On Stesichorus and other lyric pre-dramatic poetry in Sicily, see Morgan, this volume.

¹⁶ Acosta-Hughes and Kutzko, this volume. ¹⁷ Marconi and Vassallo, this volume.

The juxtaposition of the more familiar Athenian theater with that of the west reveals problems in some assumed characteristics of the context of ancient Greek theater. For example, the volume contributes to a re-evaluation of the connection between Greek theater and democracy. Several papers explicitly take up the role of tyrants in fostering theater in the west (Bosher, Duncan, Monoson), while others position the development of western Greek theater in early non-democratic contexts (Hall, Morgan and Acosta-Hughes). The role of tyrants in the early development of theater has not been well studied, particularly in the wake of extensive work on the relationship between Greek theater and democracy. The complicated world of fifth-century Sicilian tyranny itself has received more attention in recent years,¹⁸ but the study of Sicilian theater during the reign of these tyrants has not kept pace with this work.¹⁹ The plays of Dionysius I, in particular, have not received extensive treatment since Xanthakis-Karamanos' monograph on fourth-century tragedy.²⁰ Anne Duncan builds on new research to reopen questions about Dionysius I and the theater of his courts. Likewise, Sara Monoson, whose work has hitherto concentrated on democratic Athenian contexts,²¹ examines Plato's writing on Sicilian tyranny and theater.

This work shows that the widely accepted connection between Greek drama and democracy, set out in the 1990 volume, *Nothing to do with Dionysus?*,²² for example, does not hold in the west. Some scholars, like Jasper Griffin, for example, have argued that the general theory that democracy promoted and deeply defined both Attic plays and their festival contexts is flawed.²³ In this volume, we do not engage this larger debate, for our focus is not Athenian theater itself. Nevertheless, the argument informs our volume, for some of the difficulties of aligning the themes of the plays with democratic values that Griffin sets out can be resolved in the non-democratic contexts of performance in Sicily.²⁴ More concretely, a large proportion of the evidence that is preserved for theater in the west can be dated to periods of tyrannical or royal rule, from the plays of Epicharmus under Hieron I to the mimes of Herodas and Theocritus under Hieron II (or the Ptolemies), from the theaters built through the fourth and third centuries to many of the west Greek comic vases of the first three quarters of the fourth century. The question is complicated, however, by the tyrants' and, later, the kings' propaganda and self-presentation. It is fairly likely that even as early as Gelon and Hieron I, at the beginning of the fifth century, these tyrants presented themselves as populist and included features of democratic governments in

¹⁸ E.g. Lewis (2006). ¹⁹ But now see Duncan (2011). ²⁰ Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980).

²¹ E.g. Monoson (2000). ²² Winkler and Zeitlin (1990)

²³ Griffin (1998). ²⁴ Cf. Bosher, this volume.

their political structure. It is not implausible that some of their interest in drama stemmed from this desire to present themselves as enlightened and even, in a sense, democratic.²⁵ Nevertheless, despite late anecdotes about Epicharmus challenging Hieron and the sometimes critical undertones in the work of contemporary poets like Pindar, the propagandistic character of the plays, preserved in fragmentary records from the fifth and the fourth century, suggests a more straightforward attempt to manipulate and define public opinion about the current ruler. This political side of productions is not obviously reflected in the cases of mime texts that survive or the scenes of comic theater represented on west Greek comic vases, both of which seem to be more focused on the peculiarities of private and domestic life.²⁶ Nor need it explain all the vases representing tragedy that have been found in the west.²⁷ The grand stone theater buildings, however, are frequently engraved with the names of the patrons who built them, including the political power-houses of their day, for example Hieron II. The connection between politics and theater in Sicily and South Italy is complex and should not perhaps be submitted to a general theory, but rather treated in case-by-case examples where specific local conditions are taken into account. This volume makes a first inroad into sketching out the general framework of the history of theater in the west, and we hope that it will provide the foundation for future work on more specific political and theatrical interactions.

Significant work has been done to reinterpret the framework of colonial settlements in the west, by, among others, Irad Malkin, Jonathan Hall and Clemente Marconi.²⁸ This work is part of a larger re-evaluation of the phenomenon of Greek encounters with non-Greek, and our realization that the postcolonial reactions to Greek military and cultural force are vital elements of the story. In some studies of this kind, like Phiroze Vasunia's fascinating account of Greek Egypt, or Edith Hall's study of the development of a Greek sense of self through differentiation from the barbarian other, we are drawn into the complex world of Greek self-definition in relation to non-Greek.²⁹ These have been ground-breaking arguments for careful reading of Greek texts that discuss the 'other,' whether Egyptian, Persian or, indeed, Sicel or Sican. Since so many of our Classical texts come from Athens, our window into other Mediterranean cultures is clouded and distorted by the Athenian perspective. In our study of the Greek West, this phenomenon obtains as well. Some chapters in the volume attempt

²⁵ See Duncan, this volume, for a discussion of Dionysius I. See also Bosher (2006).

²⁶ Walsh (2009) discusses west Greek comic vases that feature heroes and divinities.

²⁷ Taplin (2007a). ²⁸ Malkin (1994); Hall (2002); Marconi (2007).

²⁹ Vasunia (2001); Hall (1991).

to unpack this perspective, for example, Monoson discusses Plato's view of Dionysius I, and Smith discusses Euripides' angle on Athenian claims to autochthony and leadership of the Ionians. Other papers are inevitably bounded by the comments left by Attic writers or the comparative model of Athenian drama.

Yet the focus of this volume is not the unraveling of the nuances of Athenian or mainland Greek views and prejudices about the west. We do not, for example, focus on Athenian plays that reference the west, like Euripides' *Trojan Women*, *Electra* and *Cyclops*, though Patricia Easterling has made a good case that the plays' internal references to the west suggest a performance there.³⁰ Rather, our aim, bald as it may be, is to attempt to gather together the western Greek perspective and archaeological context of the development of western Greek theater. In pursuing this goal, we take the focus away from some features of the western Greek culture: their interactions with non-Greeks who inhabited the area before the settlement period of the eighth century; the Phoenician and Carthaginian presence on the west coast of the island; and the complex trading relationships that Sicilian and South Italian Greeks engaged in with Etruscans and others. Certainly, contact with these 'others' must have defined and refined western Greek culture, including their theater,³¹ but the records relating them to the development of theater are as yet too few and little studied for us to engage with them in this volume. On the other hand, western Greek writing, building and painting about theater does remain in sufficient quantity to allow us to try to analyze the western point of view about the local theater scene. Thus, as a first volume on the western development of Greek theater, the task we have taken up is to gather together and to examine some of the central categories of evidence about western Greek theater.

Scope

This volume takes up the history of Greek theater in the west from its early beginnings in the poetry and drama of the early fifth century through to the literary reflections of Sicilian Doric mime in the poetry of Herodas and Theocritus. The scope of the papers and evidence adduced is broad, ranging from archaeological to literary, from art historical to epigraphical. Likewise, the modes of analysis vary from historical to literary to evidence-based catalogue. The disparate nature of the papers is a testament to the

³⁰ Easterling (1994).

³¹ See, for example, Willi (2008) on western Greek dialect and non-Greek languages in Sicily.

unfamiliarity of the boundaries of the subject under discussion, for whereas the archaeology, literature, art history and history of Sicily and South Italy have been scrutinized in specialized monographs and collections in recent years, the interdisciplinary topic of theater in the west as a whole has not been taken up. In this volume, we attempt to integrate several disciplinary perspectives and categories of evidence in order to begin to sketch the outlines of the history of theater in the west.

Such a synthetic approach is hardly new in the field of Classics, where the masters of the field in the early part of the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth and before, brought together varied kinds of evidence, producing interdisciplinary and comprehensive studies on many topics, including the theater of Magna Graecia and Sicily. To the Italian scholars, in particular, Gigante, Pace and Arias, we owe a debt not only of information, but also of vision and scope: theater, by its nature, is interdisciplinary and the study of it in its context is enriched by a variety of interdisciplinary perspectives.³² In the years since these works appeared, our discipline has become self-conscious in new ways, perceiving, for example, our blind spots in analyzing the evidence of the Greek West as if it were part of our modern colonial experience.³³ Likewise, as the field has moved towards greater specialization, we have applied firmer and clearer standards to our analysis of individual components of evidence and, in so doing, set higher bars to interdisciplinary work. It has therefore become difficult for a single person to take up the larger questions as Gigante or Pace did fifty years ago. In order to gather together and to bring to light some of the new discoveries and theories of recent years, we have here turned to experts in different fields in the hope of re-asking and re-answering some of the questions posed long ago by our Italian forebears.

More recently, archaeological and art historical discoveries have raised new questions about the nature and the extent of theater in the west. This volume builds directly on the recent pioneering work of Eric Csapo, Oliver Taplin and T. B. L. Webster before them, who brought to wider scholarly notice the peculiar and ever-increasing trove of western Greek comic vases (once known as 'phlyax').³⁴ In so doing, they re-opened the question of what these comic vases depicted, arguing persuasively that the comedies represented were, in fact, Attic Comedies, particularly Aristophanes. Thus

³² Arias (1934); Gigante (1966); Pace (1935–49) vol. III: 313–70. See Clemente Marconi's discussion, this volume, 179–80, of the dangers of careless interdisciplinary work.

³³ On the dangers of this approach, see Hall, this volume.

³⁴ Csapo (1986); Taplin (1987) and (1993a). For a recent summary of the state of the evidence, see Csapo (in press).

we now know that the west was witness to Athenian comedy much earlier than had been suspected before. In this work, Csapo and Taplin opened the door to examination of the theatrical relations between Athens and the west.

In this volume, however, we draw a slightly different circle in the evidence, taking as our focal point not the spread of Athenian theater itself, but the theatrical traditions that arose in the west. Many of these traditions are directly linked to mainland Greece and to Athens, and indeed we know many plays were imported to Sicily and South Italy directly from Athens. Nevertheless, our aim is not to chart the dissemination of Athenian theater, but to examine the complicated and various traditions that grew up in the west, of which Athenian theater was an important, but still only a component, part. Thus, we do not directly address other examples of early Athenian theater performed throughout the Mediterranean, for example, Euripides in Macedon, and the rapid development of a theater culture in the Greek east and into Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period marked by the splendid theaters that still dot the Turkish coast and interior.³⁵ The wider picture is surely important for understanding the vibrant theater culture of the Greek world that was developing in the fifth century and became so popular as to rival the ubiquitous rhapsodes and other traveling performance artists by the fourth century, but it is too big a subject for this volume. In Sicily and South Italy, however, a local and isolated confluence of events and cultures created a particularly fertile ground for drama, and, indeed, it is here that we have some of the earliest records of formal drama in any part of the Greek world. Our purpose here is to follow the various threads of this western Greek performance culture to examine its boundaries, its mechanics and its self-definition. In doing this, we take up the charge set out in several articles by Christopher Dearden.³⁶ In these, he argues that theater in the west need not be examined only from the perspective of Athens, and that the evidence from the west need not only be used to explain the expansion of Athenian theater. Rather, he proposes that the idiosyncrasies and sheer quantity of the western Greek theatrical material are such that they can also be studied within their own social and political circumstances.

Despite the volume of evidence, it is difficult to define and characterize the performance genres prevalent in the west. We know of two tragedies by Aeschylus at the beginning of the fifth century, tragedies by Dionysius I at the beginning of the fourth century and by several others through the course of the fourth century, but it is difficult to see how they fit into a larger

³⁵ See, for example, Revermann (1999–2000). ³⁶ Dearden (1988, 1990a, and 1990b).

pattern of performances.³⁷ Contemporary with these tragic performances, we have evidence of comic plays: those by Epicharmus, Deinolochus and Phormis at the beginning of the fifth century, and those represented on the western Greek comic vases in the first half of the fourth century.³⁸ Whereas the tragedies, unconventional as they may have been, still seem to have fit the genre of tragedy in formal terms, there is some doubt whether all the comic plays ought strictly to be called comedies, in the sense that Athenian comedies were. Some ancient sources call Epicharmus, Phormis and Deinolochus comic poets.³⁹ Aristotle reports that the Dorians in Sicily claim that they invented comedy because of Epicharmus in Sicily (Arist. *Poet.* 1448a30), and Themistius backs this up (*Or.* 27, 337b), as does the Suda (Suda e 2766) and Theocritus (*Ep.* 18.1–2) among others. On the other hand, there is a startling absence of lyric meters in the extant fragments of his plays.⁴⁰ In this, in the subject matter of some of his plays, and in the Doric dialect he, perhaps pointedly, adopts, Epicharmus' work resembles the 'mime' tradition for which Sicily is so famous.⁴¹ This mime tradition of Sophron at the end of the fifth century, continuing through to Herodas in the third century, is also in many specific details and allusions linked to the comic theater of Epicharmus.⁴² Because of the formal differences between mime and Attic Comedy, together with the different performance contexts of the two genres, mime has regularly been separated from histories of tragedy and comedy proper. In the west, however, the formal characteristics of Attic drama and of Athenian festivals did not necessarily apply.⁴³ We are not, for example, aware of a longstanding tradition of formal festival performances like those that took place in Athens, though there is a strong likelihood that competition marked the production of plays in the west as it did so much else in Greek life.⁴⁴ In the west, we are not required to imagine formal divides between the mime tradition and the comic and tragic traditions of performance as

³⁷ On Aeschylus' *Persians* in Sicily, see Boshier, this volume. On Dionysius I, see Duncan and Monoson, this volume. On vase-paintings as evidence for tragic performance in the west, see Taplin (2007a) and this volume. For a contrary view, see Todisco, this volume.

³⁸ On Epicharmus, see Rodríguez Noriega-Guillén and Willi, this volume. On the west Greek comic vases, see Dearden and MacLachlan, this volume.

³⁹ On Epicharmus, *komikos* (St. Byz. 382,13) or *komoidopoion* (Plut. *Mor.* 175c); Phormis and Deinolochus are each called *komikos* by the Suda (Suda s.v. Phormis and Suda s.v. Deinolochus, respectively).

⁴⁰ Olson (2007) 2–12, esp. 7 and 9.

⁴¹ This heritage is discussed by Kutzko, this volume. On the character of Epicharmus' plays, see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén and Willi, this volume.

⁴² See Kutzko, this volume.

⁴³ On the peculiarities of Aeschylus' *Persians* and *Women of Aetna*, both performed in Sicily, see Boshier, this volume.

⁴⁴ Wilson (2007b).

we do in Athens. Indeed, western Greek comic writers are united in several striking ways. First, they all (Epicharmus, Deinolochus, Phormis, Sophron and Herodas) chose a Doric dialect for their dramas, which both associated them with the Doric speakers of their communities and audiences, and also distinguished them from the Ionic of much prose writing in Sicily and elsewhere and the mixed dialects of tragedy.⁴⁵ Second, a series of echoes and quotations one from another, and similar themes picked up and repeated, suggest a close familiarity and conscious expression of an inherited tradition. This chain of Doric comic writers is an important strand in the development of western Greek theater, not only because of their dialect, but also because of their close identification with their own western dramatic tradition. A literary descendant of this tradition, Theocritus, on whom see Benjamin Acosta-Hughes' discussion in Chapter 17, writes in a literary Doric and is credited for an epigram extolling the fame and the service of his literary ancestor Epicharmus:

ἄ τε φωνὰ Δώριος χῶνῆρ ὁ τὰν κωμωιδίαν
 εὐρών Ἐπίχαρμος.
 ὦ Βάκχε, χάλκεόν νιν ἀντ' ἀλαθινοῦ
 τὴν ὧδ' ἀνέθηκαν
 τοὶ Συρακούσσαις ἐνίδρυνται, πελωρίσται πόλει,
 οἳ ἄνδρα πολίταν.
 σοφῶν ἔοικε ῥημάτων μεμναμένους
 τελεῖν ἐπίχειρα·
 πολλὰ γὰρ ποττὰν ζόαν τοῖς παισιν⁴⁶ εἶπε χρήσιμα.
 μεγάλα χάρις αὐτῷ⁴⁷

Theocritus, Epigram 18, *PCG* 18

This mime tradition roots itself in the culture of the Doric-speaking cities of the west, and yet these cities embraced Attic drama as well.⁴⁸ Our volume, then, concentrates on this varied set of performance genres in the west.

⁴⁵ On Sophron's 'startling decision to write in Doric prose', see Hordern (2004), 11–25.

⁴⁶ The *παισιν* of the original is reasonably emended to *πᾶσιν*. See Handley (2003) 142–8 for a discussion of the epigram and a summary of the argument (146–7). I added the phrase 'for all men' to my translation to try to catch the ambiguity of the word.

⁴⁷ The voice is Doric, so's the man, who founded comedy:
 Epicharmus, here in bronze and not reality.
 Hail Bacchus! What they've set up here, inside the giant city,
 Syracusans put him here – this man, this citizen –
 Remembering wise precepts that he set out for the children,
 Advice for ordering their lives and useful words for all men.
 'Tis fitting that they pay him back, and honor him they should,
 Greatest thanks to him, therefore, who did them so much good.

⁴⁸ Cf. Herington (1967).

Even within the geographical boundaries of the Greek West, some fascinating and important material is not taken up here. Later traditions of Greek theater became so popular and widespread, and so much is known about their dissemination and ever-extending reach, that we have not included them in this volume. The material is complicated and extensive, and heralds a new age of international theater. The great popularity of New Comedy, for example, spread to the west as it did to so many other places, and at least one of its famous exponents, Philemon, may have come from Syracuse though he spent his working life in Athens.⁴⁹ This spread of New Comedy, which took the Greek world by storm, is a subject unto itself. Likewise, the Roman comedies of Plautus and Terence follow closely on their Greek New Comic models and form a Roman after-life of the Greek New Comic genre. Indeed, Plautus comes even closer to Sicilian theater history, for Horace writes that “Plautus hurried after the example of the Sicilian Epicharmus.”⁵⁰ Certainly, the hotbed of culture in Tarentum was a point of contact between the Greek world of Magna Graecia and the expanding Roman Republic. Livius Andronicus is said to hail from there, and to be half Greek. Like other Roman tragic poets, Ennius, Accius and Pacuvius for example, he made a career of translating Greek tragedy into Latin. Ennius, indeed, wrote a poem called the “Epicharmus”, though what we know of its subject matter is philosophical rather than theatrical. This transfer and reception of Greek culture in Roman is a fascinating phenomenon, and the next volume in the story of western Greek theater. We make a foray into the third century in the final section of the volume on the later exponents of the mime tradition of Sicily. This we do because the mime tradition was so central and idiosyncratic to the western Greek theater in the fifth century and it is accessed with greater precision and ease from the later exponents of the genre, Herodas and Theocritus, whose works survive in more complete form than those of Sophron, Xenarchus and the very elusive unattributed common mimes of the earlier period. The more literary Hellenistic version of Theocritus shows us the refined end point of the genre and gives us a focused view back on his literary antecedent Epicharmus whom he famously celebrated in the epigram cited above.⁵¹

The archaeological and art historical chapters (part II) concentrate on the fourth century and the beginning of the third, when theater buildings and theatrical vase-paintings are key pieces of evidence for the flowering of theatrical genres in the west. Two chapters touch on the tradition of comic and tragic terracotta figurines that were produced in enormous numbers in

⁴⁹ Records suggest that he came from Syracuse (Suda Φ 327) or from Soli in Cilicia (Strabo 14.671).

⁵⁰ Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.55. ⁵¹ Cf. Handley (2003).

the third and second centuries all over the Greek world, with a particularly fine collection discovered on the island of Lipari, just off the north coast of Sicily (Dearden and MacLachlan). Like the genre of New Comedy that swept through the Greek world, these figurines were enormously popular and found in great number in many far reaches of the Mediterranean. Some aspects of this thriving, increasingly professionalized acting culture that characterize the period are taken up in Easterling and Hall's important volume.⁵² In our volume, Bonnie MacLachlan discusses these terracottas within a larger religious tradition, but most of the chapters here concentrate on the earlier, more regional and somewhat more idiosyncratic archaeological and art historical evidence of the flowering of theater in Sicily and South Italy of the Classical and early Hellenistic periods.

No essay in isolation could hope to integrate the many perspectives and types of evidence that are required to examine early Greek theater in the west. Together, however, these studies offer a synthesis of the development of early western Greek theater. By gathering a range of perspectives and methods focused on the problem of defining and distinguishing western Greek theatrical traditions, we hope to produce a wide-ranging examination of this hitherto neglected history.

⁵² Easterling and Hall (2002).

PART I

Tyrants, texts, and theater in early Sicily

1 | Early Greek settlement in the West

The limits of colonialism

JONATHAN M. HALL

Faced with the fact that a thriving theatrical culture existed in fifth- and fourth-century Sicily and South Italy, it is, perhaps, only natural that scholars should have speculated on the relationship between this and the dramatic tradition that is best known to us – namely, that of Classical Athens. After all, Aeschylus is said to have paid two visits to Sicily, supposedly meeting an unlucky end at Gela.¹ But if Aristotle (*Poet.* 1448a32) is right that the Sicilian comic poet Epicharmus was “much earlier than Chionides and Magnes” and if Epicharmus’ comedies have left their mark on those of Aristophanes,² then there is the real possibility that the Sicilian genre influenced its Attic counterpart,³ which then raises the intriguing question as to whether the origins of Greek drama should be sought – at least in part – in the west. This chapter attempts to lay out some groundwork for that question by focusing on the nature and historical context of early Greek settlements in Sicily and South Italy – on what is often (though somewhat misleadingly) called the ‘colonial’ background.

Previous scholarship on the early Greek settlements in the west has, for the most part, been written according to the assumptions of one of three models. In the first model, the cultural traditions of the Greek mainland are transplanted to the west with the first settlers, where they inundate a generally passive indigenous population that is thereby ‘Hellenized’. In eastern Sicily, for example, where Greek settlement was most intense, archaeologists have pointed to the fact that the indigenous ‘Finocchito’ culture of the late eighth and early seventh centuries quickly comes to absorb Greek styles and modes of manufacture, thus marking a distinction from the more conservative ‘Sant’Angelo Muxaro’ culture of central and western Sicily.⁴ As John Boardman notes: “[w]ith their colonizing trade in the west and the north,

¹ *Marm. Par.* 59; *Plut. Vit. Cim.* 8; *Mor. De exil.* 13–14; *Paus.* 1.2.3; *Anth. Pal.* 7.40; *Suda* s.v. Aeschylus; *Vita Aeschyli* 8–11. See Herington (1967). On Aeschylus in Sicily, see Bosher, this volume.

² E.g. *Ar. Vesp.* 1253–5; fr. 627 K. See Cassio (1985) 42. On Epicharmus, see Willi and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, this volume.

³ Cf. *Arist. Poet.* 1449b6. See Cassio (2002) 52. On Aristotle, see also Kutzko, this volume.

⁴ Bernabò Brea (1957) 147–85; V. Tusa (1988–9); Cusumano (1994) 149–58; La Rosa (1996); Palermo (1996); Albanese Procelli (1997); Pancucci (1997).

the Greeks made contact with people who were less advanced culturally, and technologically, and we are able to observe the beginnings of the spread of Greek civilization into Italy and western Europe, with benefits to be enjoyed by Rome and by all later western cultures.”⁵

In the second model, the settlers are not simply transmitters of a Greek culture from the Aegean to the west, but create something rather different in their new setting. Thus, in talking about the ‘divergence’ of South Italian vases from their Attic red-figure prototypes, Arthur Dale Trendall writes that “[t]he stronger inclination to the florid and the baroque, as well as to vases of huge dimensions, is understandable in a colonial world, where artists strive to outdo the products of the motherland, are less bound by centuries of established tradition, and are perhaps encouraged by their surroundings to a more exuberant manner of expression” and holds it “to the credit of the Western Greeks that they were prepared to establish their own conventions and follow their own path.”⁶ A literary parallel to this observation can be found in Andreas Willi’s suggestion that Epicharmus’ Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος might express “a wish found specifically among colonists of all times and ages: to lay claim to the heritage of the mother-country, but at the same time to free themselves from the weight of that heritage and to oppose it with something new and something of their own.”⁷ The model itself owes much to the pioneering studies of Thomas Dunbabin, who, invoking his own Australian heritage, admitted to having “drawn much on the parallel to the relations between colonies and mother country provided in Australia and New Zealand. Here political independence is combined with almost complete cultural dependence, on which the colonials pride themselves.”⁸ Like the first model, however, this second model leaves little in the way of active agency to the indigenous inhabitants of the west. As Dunbabin himself notes, “I am inclined to stress the purity of Greek culture in the colonial cities, and find little to suggest that the Greeks mixed much with Sikel or Italian peoples, or learnt much from them.”⁹

By contrast, the indigenous component is recognized in the third model, which emphasizes the active role that individual agency plays in intergroup relations on both sides and argues for the creation of new synthetic cultures, distinct from the cultural traditions and initial power structures of the original parties to the encounter. This is a model that is greatly indebted to ‘postcolonialist’ theorists, and especially to Homi Bhabha’s notions of ‘in-between-ness’ and ‘hybridity’ (though Bhabha himself attributes an early

⁵ Boardman (1999) 8. ⁶ Trendall (1990) 230. ⁷ Willi, this volume, 72–3.

⁸ Dunbabin (1948) vii. ⁹ Dunbabin (1948) vi. See De Angelis (1998) 230.

expression of the idea to T. S. Eliot, who observed that “[t]he culture which develops on the new soil must therefore be bafflingly alike and different from the parent culture; it will be complicated sometimes by whatever relations are established with some native race and further by immigration from other than the original source. In this way, peculiar types of culture-sympathy and culture-class appear”).¹⁰ Recently, Carla Antonaccio has applied the notion of ‘hybridity’ to characterize the material culture of Syracuse while Irad Malkin, drawing on Richard White’s studies of the European colonization of the Great Lakes of North America, has described the ‘colonial’ situation in the west in terms of a ‘middle ground’ between the original culture of the settlers and that of the subjugated indigenes.¹¹

From the historiographical point of view, each of these three models conforms to a ‘colonialist paradigm’. At first sight, this might seem surprising in the case of approaches that are influenced by postcolonialist theories but, in fact, notions such as ‘hybridity’ or ‘in-between-ness’ implicitly accept the prior existence of distinct, bounded cultures – that of the colonizer and that of the colonized – and the themes of ‘resistance’ and ‘subversion’ that, borrowed from the field of ‘subaltern studies’, often feature in postcolonialist analyses share with colonialist approaches the assumption that the power relations between the two groups are asymmetrical.¹² Put another way, all three models take it for granted that: (1) colonization is a deliberate policy, undertaken to fulfill certain predefined political, strategic or economic aims; (2) the colonizing party is politically or militarily dominant vis-à-vis the colonized; and (3) both colonizers and colonized possess their own distinct cultures prior to the colonial encounter. Where they diverge is in their understanding of what happens in the cultural sphere *after* the first interactions. It is not, however, clear that the ‘colonialist paradigm’ is an entirely appropriate way of thinking about the earliest Greek settlements in South Italy and Sicily.¹³

First, some historical background. From the last third of the eighth century BC, Greek-speakers founded a succession of settlements in eastern Sicily. The first, according to Thucydides (6.3.1), was Naxos, established by Chalcidians in 734 (the date may be a calculation based on generational counting, but it is broadly congruent with the earliest archaeological evidence from

¹⁰ Eliot (1949) 63–4; cited in Bhabha (1996) 54. See also Bhabha (1994).

¹¹ Antonaccio (2003); Malkin (1998); White (1993). See also Lyons and Papadopoulos (2002) 7.

¹² Owen (2005) 16–17.

¹³ Cf. Lyons and Papadopoulos (2002) 2. For an astute observation on the recursive relationship between the study of Greek settlement overseas and European colonization, see Dietler (1995) 91.

the site).¹⁴ Hard on its heels followed the Chalcidian settlements of Leontini, Catana, Zancle and Rhegium, the Corinthian foundation of Syracuse and the Megarian settlement of Megara Hyblaea, while Gela, Acrae, Casmenae and Selinus were settled in the seventh century and Camarina and Acragas in the sixth.¹⁵ In mainland Italy, permanent settlement is a little earlier, to judge from the oldest material at Pithecusae on the island of Ischia, though the origins of the southern Italian sites of Sybaris, Croton and Taras appear to date back to the last decade or two of the eighth century, with Metapontum being founded approximately a century later and Poseidonia-Paestum a little after 600 BC.¹⁶ The indigenous inhabitants of the Italian peninsula were not entirely unfamiliar with their Aegean neighbors: Mycenaean sailors had frequented the shores of southern Italy and northern and eastern Sicily and, although traffic across the Adriatic was attenuated during the ‘Dark Age’, imported Corinthian pottery at Otranto in the Salentine peninsula indicates a resumption of contacts by the ninth century.¹⁷ Nor, of course, were Italy and Sicily the only destinations for Hellenophones seeking new homes: the Ionian coast of Anatolia and possibly the Chalcidice peninsula of Thrace were settled from the eleventh century onwards while Greek settlements would eventually extend to the Propontis and Black Sea, the western Mediterranean, Libya and Egypt.¹⁸

In many of the standard narratives of Greek history, these episodes are normally included under the heading of ‘Greek colonization’, though – as Anthony Snodgrass has pointed out – in this phrase, “it is not only the noun but the adjective which is inappropriate.”¹⁹ Let us start with the noun. It may well have been Lorenzo Valla’s decision, in his 1448–52 translation of Thucydides, to translate the Greek word *apoikia* with Latin *colonia* that sealed the fate of the concept’s study and led to a conflation of Greek settlements overseas with the Romans’ establishment of veterans in *coloniae* and, eventually, the European colonization of the Americas, Asia

¹⁴ For the view that foundation dates were based on generational computations: Van Compernelle (1959); Miller (1970). The earliest imported pottery at Naxos is Late Geometric I: Pelagatti (1972).

¹⁵ See generally Graham (1982a) 103–9; (1982b) 163–9.

¹⁶ Middle Geometric pottery at Pithecusae suggests the settlement predates 750 BC: Ridgway (1992) 87; according to Livy (8.22.5–6), some of its inhabitants later settled Cumae on the mainland. For Sybaris, Croton, Metapontum and Paestum: Morgan and Hall (1996) 202–11. For Taras: De Juliis (2000) 18.

¹⁷ Mycenaean frequentation: Vagnetti (1996); (1998). Imported pottery at Otranto: D’Andria (1983) 288–9; (1989) 654–5.

¹⁸ Asia Minor: Lemos (2002) 148, 182, 197–200, 211–12. Chalcidice: Snodgrass (1994) – though see the objections of Papadopoulos (1996). See generally Graham (1982a).

¹⁹ Snodgrass (2005) 48.

and Africa.²⁰ As mentioned above, the term ‘colonization’ has come to specify the organized settlement of new areas by a party that is politically or militarily dominant according to a deliberate policy of overseas expansion. This may well have been the case with many overseas expeditions in the Classical period of the fifth and fourth centuries: a bronze plaque (ML 13), found at Galaxidhi on the Corinthian Gulf and dated to c. 500–470 BC, is inscribed with regulations governing a settlement of East Locrians at Naupactus, including provisions for religious prerogatives and inheritance issues, while an inscribed decree of about half a century later sets out the conditions for the foundation of an Athenian colony at Brea in Thrace (ML 49). We cannot, however, unproblematically retroject this evidence and assume that similar procedures were decided in advance of the earliest expeditions to the west. A fourth-century decree (ML 5), prescribing the rights of newly arrived settlers from the island of Thera to Libyan Cyrene, purports to replicate the oath of the very first Theran colonists of Cyrene c. 630 BC. The account accords in certain details with the version – or, more properly, versions – that Herodotus (4.150) records for the foundation of the city but this in itself cannot dispel the strong suspicion, shared by many scholars, that the oath, in spite of some archaizing linguistic features, is ultimately a fabrication of the fourth century, designed to offer an ancient ‘charter’ or ‘precedent’ for contemporary policies.²¹

The methodological problem is that, with the notable exception of Archilochus’ description of the settlement of Thasos (fr. 102), most of our literary accounts for Greek foundations in the west do not predate the fifth century – precisely the period in which the pattern of settlements abroad might conform better to the ‘colonial’ model.²² Generally, these foundation stories offer us details concerning the identity of the settlers, the name of the *oikistēs* (founder) and the date of foundation, though there is a good deal more variation between different accounts concerning such details than is sometimes recognized.²³ For example, the *oikistēs* of Metapontum is named as Leukippos on the fourth-century coinage of the city but Ephorus (70 *FGH* 141) credits the city’s origins to Daulius of Crisa while a certain Epeios is named by Solinus (2.10) and by Justin (*Epit.* 20.2). Ultimately, if we accept the premise that Attic tragedy tells us more about the values

²⁰ De Angelis (1998) 539. For the incompatibility of Roman *coloniae* and Greek *apoikiai*, see also Osborne (1998) 251–2.

²¹ Osborne (1996) 13–15; Hall (2007) 101–2. Less skeptical: Graham (1960).

²² Antiochus of Syracuse is a key figure in the development of a *ktisis* genre. For the problems with an ‘autobiographical’ reading of Archilochus, see Nagy (1979) 243–9.

²³ Hall (2008) 388–402.

and preoccupations of fifth-century Athens than it does about Bronze Age Thebes or Troy, then why should we assume that fifth-century foundation stories were concerned only to record an accurate memory of events three centuries earlier? For some scholars, the risks involved – and the trauma suffered – in establishing settlements in hostile territories overseas would have heightened historical consciousness and facilitated the transmitted memory of the original events, perhaps recited at annually enacted ritual events surrounding the tomb of the heroized founder (thus preserving an accurate tally of the number of years that had elapsed since foundation).²⁴ Yet, we have to wait until the time of Livy (40.4.9) to hear of an annually ordained ritual in honor of Aeneas at Aenea in the Chalcidice and the archaeological evidence for *heroa* in settlements abroad is far from compelling: what has been identified as a *heroon* in the northwestern sector of Megara Hyblaea postdates the site's foundation by about a century, while it is not at all certain that an underground chamber at Paestum, dating to 520–500, has any connection with a hero-cult to the city's founder.²⁵ The only plausible occurrence of cultic honors for a founding hero comes from Cyrene, where an offering platform in association with a cremation burial of c. 600 BC might be linked to Pindar's claim (*Pyth.* 5.93–5) that the city's founder, Battus, “lies in death, apart, on the edges of the *agora*.”²⁶ But there is also a comparative argument to be made: if western Greek settlers preserved accurate historical records from as far back as the eighth century, why did their mainland counterparts wait until the fifth century to develop anything resembling a historical consciousness? If we accept the proposition, we would have to admit that historiography was born in the west and for this there is no compelling evidence.

We cannot, then, assume that the type of organized, state-sponsored venture that is depicted in literary foundation accounts bears much resemblance to the realities of eighth-century settlement overseas and for this there is at least one example that justifies skepticism. According to tradition, the settlers who established the South Italian cities of Sybaris, Croton and Metapontum originated from Peloponnesian Achaea, but this is a region in which the sorts of political and administrative structures normally associated with the *polis* are barely, if at all, attested before the fifth century.²⁷ It is most unlikely, therefore, that the expeditions which resulted

²⁴ Dunbabin (1948) 451–2; Malkin (1987) 189.

²⁵ Megara Hyblaea: Vallet, Villard and Auberson (1976) 209–11. Paestum: Zancani-Montuoro (1954b). For doubts: Bertarelli Sestieri (1985); Hall (2007) 104–5; (2008) 410–11.

²⁶ Büsing (1978); Malkin (1987) 204–16; Antonaccio (1995) 267 and n. 79.

²⁷ Morgan and Hall (1996) 166–93.

in the foundation of these settlements were as formal or as organized as the Athenian colonization of Brea. The supposition is not disproved by archaeology. The arrival of visitors is normally signaled in the ceramic record not by a deluge of new imports of Greek origin but rather by a trickle. At Megara Hyblaea, despite the claims of the excavators that an urban plan dates back to the earliest years of the settlement, the domestic structures that can be securely dated to the first generation of the site's history indicate a small settlement with scattered houses.²⁸

The likelihood is that the process by which Greek-speakers first settled in South Italy and Sicily was rather haphazard and spurred by a variety of motives.²⁹ It is often suggested that a shortage of viable agricultural land in the Aegean was one of the principal reasons why the settlers departed for pastures new,³⁰ but the results of archaeological field survey reveal that the region around Dyme in Achaea was only sporadically settled until the sixth century,³¹ which begs the question as to why Achaeans should have left the Peloponnese to settle so far away in South Italy. Similarly, there are few signs of intensive habitation in the Corinthia at the time when Syracuse was founded. Clearly other factors were also at work. It is now generally accepted that the eighth century witnessed some demographic increase (though the rate of this increase is disputed),³² but the issue may have been less about the overall stock of agricultural land available than about the increased likelihood of sons having male siblings and having to confront new questions concerning inheritance.³³ Hesiod (*Op.* 37–9) gives some hint of the problems this might cause and elsewhere cautions against having more than one son (376–7). Certainly, inheritance issues feature in several of the later foundation accounts: the group that settled Taras in South Italy is named by numerous sources as the *Partheniai* or 'maiden-born' – a title that would seem to carry connotations of illegitimacy and hence of disputed claims to inheritance – while Battus' mother is said to have been a concubine (Hdt. 4.154–5). Another factor might be climatic disasters, such as that recounted in the Thera version of the foundation of Cyrene (Hdt. 4.151),³⁴ but we should not discount the lure of a better life overseas. Evidence from an industrial complex on the Mezzavia ridge at Pithecusae suggests that the processing, and perhaps even extraction, of

²⁸ Hall (2007) 107–10.

²⁹ *Contra* Dunbabin (1948) 47: "colonization was not a series of accidents but a deliberate policy."

³⁰ E.g. Finley (1999) 175. ³¹ Morgan and Hall (1996) 186–9.

³² Snodgrass (1980) 22–5; Sallares (1991) 50–192; Jameson, Runnels and van Andel (1994) 563; Tandy (1997) 46–58; Scheidel (2003); Hall (2007) 78–9.

³³ Hall (2007) 115–16. ³⁴ Cawkwell (1992).

iron ores from the island of Elba may have been a significant motive in attracting Greek (and Phoenician) settlement there and David Tandy has suggested that wealth generated overseas might not be subject to the same sorts of redistributive obligations that were in effect back in the Aegean basin.³⁵

Nor should we assume that the earliest settlers were always militarily superior to the local inhabitants they met overseas. Certainly this could happen: Thucydides (6.3.2) says that the Corinthian settlers of Syracuse expelled – and perhaps enslaved – the resident population and some material support for this claim is provided by the abandonment, in the last third of the eighth century, of the indigenous sites of Pantalica and Finocchito.³⁶ A similar pattern is discernible in the territories of Sybaris (Francavilla Marittima and Amendolara) and Taras (Torre Castelluccia).³⁷ But at Megara Hyblaea, tradition held that the land was a gift from a local chieftain to Megarians who had been driven out of Chalcidian Leontini (Thuc. 6.4.1–2) and in Odrysian Thrace, we later hear of Greek settlers paying tribute to the local powers.³⁸ Something similar is attested at Naucratis in the Nile Delta, where resident Greeks were responsible for the payment of duties and taxes to the “Overseer of the Gate to the Foreign Lands of the Great Green,” acting on behalf of the Egyptian Pharaoh.³⁹ Naucratis is often classified in the literature on colonization as an *emporion* – a port of trade, distinct from the more permanently settled *apoikiai* – but Herodotus (2.178) explicitly describes the settlement as a *polis* and there is a growing opinion among scholars that the distinction may have been overstated.⁴⁰

So much for the heuristic validity of ‘colonization’ as a concept. What about ‘Greekness’? The first and most obvious point to make is that there was no single ‘Greek’ nation-state prior to 1827, when Greece’s claims to independence from the Ottoman Empire were finally recognized by Britain, France and Russia under the terms of the Treaty of London. Politically speaking, what we today call Greece was, in antiquity, fragmented between hundreds of largely autonomous *poleis* or city-states. We do not tend to group together the rather different colonial enterprises of the Venetians, Genoese and Pisans under the rubric of ‘Italian colonization’ and there are similar reasons for resisting the urge with regard to the Greeks.

³⁵ Tandy (1997) 59–83.

³⁶ Herodotus (7.155.2) refers to a serf-like class called the Killyrioi, who may have been indigenous Sicels. For Pantalica and Finocchito: Vallet (1996) 13; Leighton (1999) 233.

³⁷ De la Genière (1978); Osanna (1992) 118–29.

³⁸ Archibald (1998), cited in Owen (2005) 13.

³⁹ For a recent study on Naucratis, see Möller (2000). ⁴⁰ Wilson (1997); Osborne (1998) 259.

Notwithstanding this elementary fact, there is a widespread belief that, though not united politically, the Greeks subscribed to a common ethnic and cultural identity from at least the time of the Homeric poems and that a particularly efficacious catalyst for this were the early ‘colonial’ encounters with indigenous peoples whose language, beliefs, customs and general way of life seemed desperately alien, thereby prompting speculation on ‘selfhood’.⁴¹

If this were the case, it is decidedly odd that the Greeks should have waited so long before adopting a common ethnonym. The earliest – though indirect – testimony for the employment of the name ‘Hellenes’ does not predate the early sixth century.⁴² That this is not simply an accident of the random survival of texts is strongly suggested by the contemporaneous establishment of a sanctuary to the “gods of the Hellenes” at Naucratis (Hdt. 2.178.2–3) and by the coinage of a genealogy, found in the *Catalogue of Women* (Hes. Frs. 9, 10a.220–4 Merkelbach–West), that derives the descent of the ‘ethnic ethnonyms’ Aeolus, Dorus, Achaeus and Ion from the Hellenic *Urvater* Hellen.⁴³ The employment of the geographical term ‘Hellas’ to designate what we would term mainland Greece is attested a little earlier, in Alcman (fr. 77 Page), though, prior to the sixth century, its inhabitants are named not ‘Hellenes’ but ‘Panhellenes’ – a term that expresses diversity rather than unity and may refer simply to geographical contiguity rather than to ethno-cultural solidarity.⁴⁴ Out in the west, the evidence for a Hellenic self-consciousness is even more elusive. Despite claims to the contrary,⁴⁵ Thucydides (6.3.1) does not say that *all* Sicilian Greeks sacrificed on the (unidentified and therefore undated) altar of Apollo Archegetes, near Naxos, when sailing from Sicily and it is unlikely that the Greeks of South Italy held regular meetings at the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, outside Croton, much before the end of the fifth century.⁴⁶ A Syracusan-led victory over the

⁴¹ E.g. Dunbabin (1948) 40; Oliva (1981) 88; Fine (1983) 92; E. Hall (1989) 8; Vasilescu (1989) 77; Davison (1991) 63.

⁴² Pausanias (10.7.5–7) cites an inscribed dedication at Delphi, dated to 586 BC, which relates how the Arcadian Echembrotus sung “melodies and laments to the Hellenes.” The term is attested in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Hom. *Il.* 2.681–5), but here refers to the inhabitants of a small region south of Thessaly.

⁴³ For ceramic dedications supporting the date of the Hellenion at Naucratis: Hogarth, Edgar and Gutch (1899) 44. West (1985) 169–70 dates the pseudo-Hesiodic genealogy to the late sixth century but Fowler (1998) argues cogently for a date c. 580 BC.

⁴⁴ For the pluralistic connotations of the *pan-* prefix: Diller (1937) 20; Cassola (1953) 299; Fowler (1998) 10. See generally Hall (2002) 125–34.

⁴⁵ E.g. Malkin (1986).

⁴⁶ *Contra* Lomas (1993) 11, 32. Polybius (2.39.1–6) says that the confederacy first started meeting after the destruction of the Pythagorean clubhouses and was modeled on the Achaean

Carthaginians at Himera in 480 bc could have provided a golden opportunity to stress western Greek supremacy over the forces of barbarism – indeed, Pindar (*Pyth.* 1.72–80) likens a Syracusan victory over a Phoenician and Etruscan fleet off Cumae to the battles of both Salamis and Plataea – but that possibility was never really capitalized upon. Even the term *Megale Hellas* (Latin: *Magna Graecia* or ‘Great Greece’) was not used to describe southern Italy before the time of Polybius (2.39.1).⁴⁷ It is, then, difficult to maintain, with Carol Dougherty, that “[t]he expansion of the Greek world through both trade and overseas settlement has an important impact on the ways in which Greek identity is reevaluated and reconfigured in the early archaic period.”⁴⁸

Even in situations where the initial impact of settlement was violent, relations between the newcomers and the former residents could often stabilize relatively swiftly: in the territory of Sybaris, for example, the abandonment of Amendolara was followed almost immediately by the establishment of a new indigenous settlement about two kilometers to the east.⁴⁹ Furthermore, onomastic and linguistic evidence argues against a situation of Apartheid, whereby Greek-speakers and natives were confined to ethnically segregated zones. Greek names with non-Greek orthography, such as Eurumakes, Pratomakes, Tamura and Skutas, suggest strongly a climate of cohabitation – and presumably intermarriage – between settlers and natives.⁵⁰ Such intensive cooperation is likely to favor bilingualism, and for this there is evidence from the acropolis of Gela, where three graffiti express ownership through the employment of *eimi* (‘I am’) with the dative case – a solecism in Greek but a feature attested in the so-called ‘Elymian’ language of western Sicily.⁵¹ Analysis of the fragments of Epicharmus has also revealed ‘Italic’ features in the dialect employed.⁵² In such a context, it is hardly surprising that the material culture of the west displays such a confection of styles, modes of manufacture and practices.⁵³

Confederacy of the Peloponnese, but the former is unlikely to have happened before the mid fifth century while the Achaean Confederacy is not attested before the end of that century: see Dunbabin (1948) 366; Pearson (1987) 108; Morgan and Hall (1996) 194–7. Walbank (2000) is, however, less skeptical.

⁴⁷ See Napoli (1978) 38–43; Lomas (1993) 8–13. ⁴⁸ Dougherty (2001) 7.

⁴⁹ De la Genière (1983) 266–9; Osanna (1992) 126–8.

⁵⁰ Agostiniani (1988–9) 195–6. Buchner (1979) 133–5 has argued, on the basis of female ornaments in burials at Pithecusae, that Greek settlers intermarried with Italian women and the hypothesis has been extended to Naxos, Syracuse, Mylae, Megara Hyblaea and Gela: see Coldstream (1993) and Albanese Procelli (1997) 518–19. See, however, the notes of caution sounded by Lyons (1996), Hodos (1999) and Shepherd (1999).

⁵¹ Piraino Manni (1980); Agostiniani (1980–1) 518–19.

⁵² Cassio (2002); Willi (2008) chapters 2 and 5.

⁵³ Todisco, this volume, describes vases with depictions of Greek myth found in native sites in South Italy and discusses how the myths would have been explained to native purchasers of the

In fact, the early settlers were as concerned to define their own identity against their fellow Greek-speakers as they were to distinguish themselves from indigenous populations. In a study of burial practices at Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea and Gela, Gillian Shepherd has demonstrated that the mortuary customs of these new settlements diverge – often significantly – from those current in their supposed respective metropoleis and that their typological structures are best attributed to an environment of competitive emulation between Greek settlements.⁵⁴ Similar arguments have been made in the cases of Sicilian temple design and of Sicilian coinage.⁵⁵ Moreover, when Greek-speakers appealed to a more inclusive identity than their civic affiliation, it was generally not to their Hellenic origins but to their sub-Hellenic ethnic attachments. It is not entirely certain what salience the ‘Ionian’ settlements of Sicily (Naxos, Leontini, Catana, Zancle) and their ‘Dorian’ counterparts (Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, Gela, Selinus, Acragas) attached to their ethnic affiliations prior to the fifth century, when the growing dominance of Syracuse and the alliances that were forged with the major protagonists of the Peloponnesian War witnessed numerous rhetorical appeals to ethnic solidarity.⁵⁶ The case of South Italy is, however, different. Here, the cities of Sybaris, Croton and Metapontum appealed to their ‘Achaean’ heritage as they embarked on a campaign that resulted in the destruction of their ‘Ionian’ neighbor, Siris (later refounded as Thurii) in the middle of the sixth century.⁵⁷ That Achaean solidarity would be maintained in the face of the burgeoning power of Dorian Taras.

Indeed, it is the sixth century, I would suggest, that marks an entirely new chapter in the development of relations between the new settlements in the west and the cities of ‘Old Greece’. Dunbabin’s view, again dictated to a considerable degree by his Australian background, was that the bonds between the western Greeks and the ‘motherland’ were initially tight and only subsequently weakened, leaving the new settlements overseas to ‘go it alone’.⁵⁸ In truth, however, the trajectory seems to be the inverse, as a brief look at Taras might serve to demonstrate. According to a tradition, recounted by Antiochus of Syracuse (555 *FGrH* 13) and repeated – with some variations – by a succession of later authors, Taras had been founded towards the end of the eighth century by a disenfranchised group from

vases. Taplin, this volume (appendix), discusses the possibility of traveling acting troupes performing in non-Greek settlements in South Italy.

⁵⁴ Shepherd (1995). ⁵⁵ Snodgrass (1986) 55–6; Rutter (1997) 101–17. ⁵⁶ See Alty (1982).

⁵⁷ Lycoph. *Alex.* 978–92; Just. *Epit.* 20.2.3–10. See Huxley (1981) 37; Moscati Castelnovo (1989) 106–15; Hall (2000) 389–93; (2002) 58–65.

⁵⁸ See De Angelis (1998) 545.

Laconia named the Partheniai. Only a very few fragments of Laconian Late Geometric pottery have been recovered from Taras and its environs, but the fact that Laconian Geometric pottery is rarely found outside the area of its production makes it fairly certain that some Laconians were among the original settlers, even if we may suspect – given the haphazard nature of overseas ventures hypothesized above – that others probably joined them along the way.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, for the first two centuries of its history, Taras displays few material connections with its supposed metropolis. In the sixth century, however, we find Laconian-style cups with conical feet and figured representations of fish and dolphins, while Tarantine bronze figurines begin to take their cue from contemporary styles that are Laconian, rather than Corinthian (as was the case before).⁶⁰ Although an earlier date for the typically Laconian cult of the Dioscuri cannot be ruled out, the oldest votive tablets attesting to their worship date to the sixth century, while a late sixth-century issue of silver staters bear on their obverse the figure of Hyacinthus, most famously associated with the Laconian village of Amyclae.⁶¹

Something similar is also attested to the west of Taras. As we have seen, the cities of Sybaris, Croton and Metapontum subscribed to an ‘Achaean’ identity, but initially this was based not only – nor, perhaps, even primarily – on the origins of the cities’ founders in Peloponnesian Achaea but on the idea that the settlers could trace their descent back to Homeric ‘Achaeans’. The myth that told how Metapontum had originally been founded by ‘Pylia sailing with Nestor from Troy’ (Strab. 6.1.15) can only really be seen against the background of neighboring Siris’ claims to have been founded by Colophon, itself a foundation of Pylos (Mimnermus fr. 9 West; Timaeus 566 *FGH* 51) and should therefore date no later than the late seventh or early sixth century – the only period in which both cities co-existed.⁶² Less easy to date, but perhaps also already in currency at this period, are the myths which associated the Achaean hero Philoctetes with both Sybaris and the territory of Croton (Strab. 6.1.3; 6.1.14; 14.2.10). At this early date, the most important cults in this part of southern Italy – and especially that of Hera – find a closer parallel with the religious landscape of the Argive plain, the heartland of the Homeric Achaeans, than

⁵⁹ Stibbe (1975).

⁶⁰ Dunbabin (1948) 290; Pelagatti (1955–6) 11–18; De Juliis and Loiacano (1985) 163; Moreschini (1988).

⁶¹ Stibbe (1975) 32; Stazio (1983) 139; De Juliis (1996) 211; Nafissi (1999) 255. See generally Hall (2007) 113–14; (2008) 418–21.

⁶² Hall (2002) 64–5.

with Peloponnesian Achaea.⁶³ Conversely, there are few suggestions that the inhabitants of Peloponnesian Achaea went to great lengths to promote their own descent from Homeric Achaeans, forced to flee their homes in Laconia and the Argolid after the arrival of the Dorians, until the middle of the sixth century, when the Spartans claimed to have located the bones of Agamemnon's grandson Tisamenus at the Achaean city of Helice (Paus. 7.1.8). Once the mythical connection had been made, however, stronger links were forged between Peloponnesian Achaea and the Achaean cities in South Italy, so that towards the end of the fifth century, the Italian Achaeans are said to have established a 'federal' league, based on its Peloponnesian prototype (Polyb. 2.39.1–6).⁶⁴

In an exhaustive survey of the carved metopes that once decorated a number of later sixth-century temples at Selinus in Sicily, Clemente Marconi has emphasized that, while the iconographical themes represented were of special relevance to the civic identity of Selinus, the orientation of many of the myths that are depicted is unambiguously centered on the Greek mainland rather than the periphery.⁶⁵ This oscillation between civic identity and a mainland orientation is mirrored at Olympia, where, in the first half of the sixth century, Sybaris, Metapontum and Gela all dedicated costly treasuries; over the next century, further treasuries were built by Selinus, Syracuse and possibly Megara Hyblaea, while Gela's was extended further.⁶⁶ The decision to invest in one of the major 'panhellenic' sanctuaries of mainland Greece must surely reflect a desire to strengthen ties with what was increasingly being seen as the mother country, though the treasury terrace itself, with ten structures jostling to outdo one another in terms of elaborate decoration, if not size, speaks to a climate of civic rivalry.

On the other hand, it would be erroneous to assume that the Greek foundations in Sicily and South Italy were concerned only with forging mutual connections with 'Old Greece'. While it is true that many of the episodes recounted in the extremely fragmentary poems of the sixth-century Sicilian poet Stesichorus relate to the Greek mainland or Troy, others – such as the *Geryoneis* – are set at the western fringes of the world.⁶⁷ Indeed, the fifth century witnesses an active attempt to create a new autonomous identity among the Greek-speaking residents of Sicily. At Gela in 424 BC, according to Thucydides, the Syracusan statesman Hermocrates addressed

⁶³ Giangiulio (1989) 175–9; Osanna (1992) 48, 234; Camassa (1993).

⁶⁴ Morgan and Hall (1996) 194–7. See generally Hall (2002) 58–65.

⁶⁵ Marconi (2007) 185–222. ⁶⁶ Mallwitz (1972) 163–79.

⁶⁷ See, most recently, Lazzeri (2008). See also Morgan, this volume.

an assembly of Greek representatives from the various Greek cities and urged them to put aside local civic and even ethnic (i.e. Dorian vs. Ionian) differences, but rather unite, “since we are all neighbors, fellow inhabitants of a single land surrounded by sea, and called by one name – Sikeliotai” (4.64.3). The name “Sikeliotai,” attested for the first time in Thucydides (3.90.1), expressed a regional, rather than ethnic, identity and is employed primarily by Hermocrates to distinguish the residents of Sicily from those of ‘Old Greece’ with the purpose of lending emotive authority to Syracusan attempts to resist an Athenian invasion of the island.⁶⁸ This geographical focus does not, in itself, exclude non-Greek-speakers from the category and, indeed, Diodorus (5.6.5) tells us that the indigenous Sicilians eventually lost their own languages and began calling themselves “Sikeliotai” – perhaps as a result of Timoleon of Corinth’s actions in uniting the various populations of Sicily against a threat from Carthage (Diod. 16.73.2). But at least initially, the designation was employed only to mark the Greek-speaking residents of the island and the reason for this may derive from events just one generation earlier.

As we saw earlier, even in situations where initial encounters between settlers and indigenes were violent, an atmosphere of, if not collaboration, at least cohabitation had ultimately prevailed. In the middle of the fifth century, however, the Sicels of eastern Sicily were mobilized under one of their leaders, Ducetius, who, in 453 BC, established a federation of Sikel towns (Diod. 11.88.6). Ducetius’ aim seems to have been to wrest back land for the Sicels that had recently been expropriated for new Greek foundations. His first action was in 461, against Catana (11.76.3), followed two years later by his capture of the town of Morgantina (11.78.5). For about a decade, he enjoyed the support of Syracuse but then, after launching an expedition against Acragas, the Syracusans joined their fellow Greeks in crushing the revolt (11.91).⁶⁹ Although the uprising was ultimately unsuccessful, the Sicels had been politicized as a significant player in the region: at the time of the Sicilian expedition in 415, both Hermocrates and the Athenian general Alcibiades felt obliged to court their support (Thuc. 6.34.1, 48.1).⁷⁰

Taras also had trouble with the locals, though at a slightly earlier date. At some point in the first quarter of the fifth century, the Tarantines dedicated

⁶⁸ Antonaccio (2001) 113–22.

⁶⁹ Following the defeat, Ducetius claimed suppliant status at Syracuse, from where he was allowed to go into exile at Corinth, though a few years later he headed back west to establish the Corinthian–Sikel foundation of Kale Akte: Diod. 11.92, 12.8.

⁷⁰ See generally Antonaccio (2001) 136–9.

two victory monuments at Delphi.⁷¹ The first represented a group of “bronze horses and female prisoners taken from the spoils of the Messapians, the barbarian neighbors of the Tarantines” (Paus. 10.10.6), while the second commemorated a victory over the Peucetians, depicting “Opis, king of the Iapygians [another name for the Messapians], arriving as an ally for the Peucetians” (10.13.10).⁷² In 473 BC (Diod. 11.52.3–4), the tables were turned when the Iapygians scored a decisive victory over Taras and her allies from Rhegium, in what Herodotus (7.170.3) described as “the greatest slaughter of Greeks of all that we know.” This is the most likely context for the coinage of a Delphic oracular response, purportedly delivered to the first settlers of Taras, that they should “become a bane to the Iapygians” (Antiochus of Syracuse 555 *FGrH* 13). In other words, we witness on Sicily and in South Italy during the fifth century a phenomenon that is also attested on the Greek mainland – namely, the construction of a barbarian antitype.⁷³ But, in this confrontation, the Tarantines do not seem to have played the ‘Greek’ card while the cities of Sicily subscribed to a Siceliot identity that distinguished them from the Greeks of the Aegean. Nor were these hostilities the culmination of centuries of segregation and mutual mistrust: the city that Ducetius refounded at Morgantina displays a hybrid Greek–Sicel character and the earliest silver coins that the Sicel communities issued were modeled on Greek prototypes in terms of appearance, types and legends.⁷⁴

This last observation finds further some confirmation in the legends of ethnic origins that were circulating among the non-Greek populations of the west in the fifth century.⁷⁵ One might have expected to find an ethnic discourse structured around the theme of autochthony, in contradistinction to the migration traditions of the settlers. Indeed, the Sicans expressed precisely this belief (Timaeus 566 *FGrH* 38; cf. Thuc. 6.2.2), but the Sicels claimed to have originated in southern Italy while the Elymians of western Sicily professed Trojan origins (Thuc. 6.2.3–4; Hellanicus 4 *FGrH* 31; Strab. 6.1.3) and the Iapygians of Puglia identified themselves with the first ‘Eteocretan’ inhabitants of Crete (Hdt. 7.170).⁷⁶ In the interconnected

⁷¹ See Bourguet (1929) 78–80; Amandry (1949); Bommelaer and Laroche (1991) 117–18, 163–4.

⁷² For the relationship between the two ethnonyms: Lombardo (1991); Hall (2005) 271–6.

⁷³ For the ‘invention’ of the barbarian in mainland Greece during the fifth century: E. Hall (1989).

⁷⁴ Antonaccio (2001) 136; Rutter (1997) 140–1.

⁷⁵ Pace Bickerman (1952), there is no compelling reason to assume that these accounts were foisted on indigenous populations by Greek mythographers. See Hall (2005).

⁷⁶ There is, however, no earlier independent testimony to support Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ claim (1.9–11) that the Oenotrians of Calabria originated from Arcadia: see Hall (2005) 265–71.

environment of the Mediterranean, simplistic notions of core and periphery have little purchase.⁷⁷

What I hope to have done in this brief survey of the early centuries of Greek settlement in the west is to highlight the shortcomings of a ‘colonialist’ model. That the experience of the Greek-speakers settled in Sicily and South Italy was markedly different from that of their kinsmen in the Aegean is undeniable, but this was not predetermined from the moment when the first Greeks set foot on western soil. Even if we could be sure that Thucydides (1.25.4) was right to believe that Corinth had exercised some control over her colonies from the outset, which we cannot, this was far from being the universal experience. The early foundations were not state-sponsored initiatives – there is no evidence that the settlers were deliberately trying to create a ‘New Corinth’ or a ‘New Calchis’ – and encounters with indigenes, even when hostile in nature, do not seem to have contributed to any strong Hellenic consciousness in the west. If the culture of Sicily and South Italy in the Classical period can appropriately be described as ‘hybrid’, this did not result from a fusion of ready-formed Greek and indigenous cultural traditions. Rather, it was a long-term process of adaptation to historical contingencies which could, at any single point, have taken different trajectories from the one it did. What is ultimately needed is a new model that takes adequate account of both active agency and historical contingency and offers a more dynamic characterization of culture as continuously and situationally constructed.

⁷⁷ This is one of the reasons why the core–periphery model, developed by Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978) on the basis of Emanuel Wallerstein’s ‘World Systems Theory’, has limited heuristic power in the case of Greek settlements overseas.

2 | A prolegomenon to performance in the West

KATHRYN A. MORGAN

This chapter sets up a background against which to read theatrical performance in the Greek West. It cannot do full justice to the richness and variety of western performance traditions, but will briefly sketch the outlines of a vibrant poetic culture. The Greeks of Sicily and southern Italy were musical innovators: avid consumers of songs from the mainland, fierce competitors at their own and at mainland festivals, and active producers of all types of song, from the epicizing lyric of Stesichorus to the iambic performers of Syracuse. They were, moreover, influential. Stesichorus' treatments of the great sagas of mythology find their echo in the tragedies of Aeschylus and the heritage of Epicharmus may well resonate in the plays of Aristophanes. But besides the question of the influence of major figures on literary history, we must recognize that poetic performance, both choral and monodic, at the festival, at the symposium, and doubtless in other places too will have been central to the life and culture of every *polis* in the west. Of these performances and occasions we have only shadowy indications and reminiscences, some of which will be detailed below, but for the purposes of this volume the essential is that when Attic theater reached the west, it found cultural soil that had been tilled, weeded, well fertilized, and that had already produced a variety of tasty crops.

Performance culture in the West

Two fantastic anecdotes help to bring home, even in their excess, the centrality of musical performance in the west. In his anecdotes illustrating the luxury of the people of Sybaris which, he says, brought about their downfall (the city was destroyed in 510 BC), Athenaeus (12.520c–d) reports a story told by Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Sybarites* (= fr. 583 Rose) that the Sybarites had taught their horses to dance at their feasts to the music of the pipes. Knowing this, the army of Croton brought pipe-players to a battle and had them start to play, whereupon the horses of the Sybarites began to dance and even “deserted” to the Crotoniates, still carrying their riders. The historicity of the story is suspect, and a similar narrative is told of the

people of Cardia (Ath. 12.520d–f), but there is no real reason to doubt that the Sybarites may have trained their horses to “dance” to pipe music or even that this may have been an aspect of festive entertainment. If so, we catch a glimpse of the pervasiveness of musical culture as it extends from the human to the animal realm (as we shall see also in the story of Arion) and of the way musical practice could be seen to characterize a *polis*.¹

The famous story of Arion (Hdt. 1.23–4) gives us another perspective on the song culture of the west. Arion of Methymna in Lesbos was, Herodotus tells us, the most famous cithara-player of his day (the late seventh and early sixth century), and played an important part in the development of the dithyramb. He spent most of his time at the court of Periander of Corinth, but also conducted a concert tour in Italy and Sicily where he made a vast amount of money – so vast, in fact, that the ship’s crew carrying him from Tarentum back to Corinth decided to kill him and steal it. The narrative is well known and does not need detailed rehearsal here: his fruitless pleas for life and his final concert standing on the stern of the ship, his leap into the waves and miraculous transport to Taenarum on the back of a dolphin. The story is suggestive at many levels,² but for our purposes several important features stand out. First: the geographical range of Greek musical performers. Arion is a native of the eastern Aegean, is based in Corinth, and travels in Sicily and Italy.³ Second: the potential for lucrative performance (a potential that would later be exploited by the sophist Hippias⁴). Arion makes so much money that he tempts sailors to murder. Third: showmanship. Herodotus makes much of the “get-up” or “costume” (σκευή) worn by Arion. When he proposes his final concert to the sailors he asks whether they want to hear him sing *in costume*, then he puts it on, and finally leaps into the sea, *costume and all*. Evidently the outfit was impressive. The west is clearly established as a place where singers would be enthusiastically received and, in exchange for a spectacular performance, would make a substantial profit. The excursion of Arion would later be matched by Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, Aeschylus, and others.

Greek poetry in the west, both choral and monodic, was as early as the first colonists. We need not doubt that these brought with them their sympotic songs and epic recitations. Even though we are told that it was Cynaethus of Chios who introduced epic into Syracuse in the sixty-ninth

¹ Gorman and Gorman (2007) 47 argue, probably correctly, that the connection of the dancing horses with luxury was not Aristotle’s.

² See Kowalzig (forthcoming).

³ See the essays in Hunter and Rutherford (2009), particularly those of Bowie and d’Alessio.

⁴ Pl. *Hp. mai.* 282d–e.

Olympiad (504–501 bc), Theagenes of Rhegium, one of the earliest commentators on Homer, was active slightly earlier in the sixth century, and such commentary presupposes familiarity with Homeric epic.⁵ Of interest in this context is also Eumelus of Corinth, one of the poets sometimes associated with the epic cycle as the author of a *nostos* poem, a *Titanomachy*, and a poem on the history of Corinth. Opinions differed even in antiquity about how many of the poems attributed to him were authentic, but he seems relatively securely placed in the mid–late eighth century and is associated by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.131.8) with Archias the founder of Syracuse (founded 733).⁶ This connection may indicate that Eumelus celebrated Archias poetically as founder or had some other connection with the foundation.⁷ Festive celebration in song would certainly be appropriate to city foundation (a move we see repeated in Pindar’s first *Pythian*) as a proud statement of civic identity.⁸

Each *polis* had, of course, its own religious festivals and these would have been characterized by choral performance.⁹ Thus, to take the example of Syracuse, we hear of a Thesmophoria and several other festivals connected with Demeter and Kore, festivals of Artemis *Lyaia* and *Chitonia*, a festival of the Nymphs, a *Hermeia*, and possibly a *Karneia*.¹⁰ Some of these featured what we might call “pre-dramatic” performances. During the ten-day Thesmophoria, participants “imitated the ancient way of life” and indulged in *aischrologia* with each other, the kind of coarse language that had amused the goddess when Persephone was lost (Diod. 5.4.7; we shall return to the topic of *aischrologia*). The Syracusan cult of Artemis *Lyaia* is mentioned in connection with a time before the Deinomenids conquered Syracuse when the cattle there were perishing from a plague. The goddess was placated by a ritual in which inhabitants of the countryside moved in procession through the town, entered the “theater” and sang a song of victory, and in time this

⁵ Mancuso (1912) 35–8; Burnett (1988) 138 with n. 102.

⁶ West (2002) concludes that most of the poems traditionally attributed to Eumelus date from considerably later, but agrees in placing Eumelus himself in the eighth century. For more on problems of dating see D’Alessio (2009) 137–5, and (for a greater degree of confidence in Eumelus’ authorship) Debiasi (2004) 15 and *passim*.

⁷ Debiasi (2004) 48–51 with n. 176.

⁸ Cf. Burnett (1988) 138. Xenophanes of Colophon in Ionia, who spent time in Catane and Zancle and later settled in Elea (founded 535), wrote poetry featuring the foundations of Colophon and Elea (Diog. Laert. 9.18–20; cf. Bowie (1986) 31–2).

⁹ For a good survey of festival cult and song in the west see Burnett (1988) 141–5. Wilson (2007b) examines the implications of a fifth-century curse tablet from Gela or Camarina, which presupposes choral competition in the *polis*.

¹⁰ For Demeter’s connection with Sicilian theater, see the suggestive essay of Kowalzig (2008). For the festivals of Syracuse, see Polacco and Anti (1981) 26–9.

passed into tradition.¹¹ The origins of this custom are difficult to pin down chronologically; the late sixth century is probably an early estimate and so we are not dealing with a cult practice original with the foundation. Yet this is still precious evidence of cult performance prior to the arrival of Athenian drama, and was cited in antiquity as a good candidate for the origin of bucolic poetry. Nor was this the only type of performance associated with Artemis. Athenaeus informs us that Artemis *Chitonia* at Syracuse was celebrated with pipe-playing and a dance called “ionic,” and Pollux adds that the Sicilians in particular danced an “ionic” dance to this goddess.¹² Sicily was sometimes credited in antiquity with a formative role in the development of dance. Theophrastus (at Ath. 1.22c) reported that it was a Sicilian, Andron of Catane, who first set rhythmic motions of the human body to pipe music. As a result the verb *sikelizein* was, for the ancients, a synonym for *orcheisthai*, to dance. Whatever the truth of the anecdote, the notion must have had some plausibility and thus shows the closeness of the connection between Sicily and dance.

If we move from Sicily to Italy we find again suggestive, though scattered, evidence of a rich song culture. Many ancient notices preserve details of cult (e.g. Hera at Sybaris as well as Philoctetes, Dionysus – and a whole host of heroes – at Tarentum, Achilles at Croton) for which no good evidence of choral celebration is preserved, but might plausibly be reconstructed.¹³ Sometimes we know a little more. The cult of Apollo (and Artemis) was the focus of considerable energy at Rhegium and claimed Orestes as mythical founder after he bathed himself for purification in local rivers following his return from among the Taurians. The same hero was reported to have founded a cult of Artemis in Syracuse and deposited there the image of the goddess he brought back from the Taurians.¹⁴ Varro, an important source for the Orestes connection, also speaks of a *daphnephoria* from Rhegium to Delphi.¹⁵ In the springtime each year, moreover, Apollo was celebrated with sixty days of paean singing, a practice not unconnected with the proliferation of paean composers in Italy. This cult context is the background for the sad tale told by Pausanias (5.25.2–4) of the chorus of youths who were shipwrecked in the Straits of Messina in the second half of the fifth century. All thirty-five of them perished, along with their trainer and

¹¹ Sources: Schol. Theoc. *Proleg.* B a; Diom. *Gramm. Lat.* 1 p. 486 (Keil); Prob. Verg. *Ecl.* Praef. 324–5 (Hagen). On the performances, see Polacco and Anti (1981) 27; Kowalzig (2008) 143 (suggesting a connection between theater and popular rule).

¹² Ath. 14.629e; Poll. 4.103; cf. Lawler (1943) 67. ¹³ Mancuso (1912) 63; cf. Fileni (1987) 27.

¹⁴ Varro, *Rer. Hum.* 11 cited in Prob. Verg. *Ecl.* Praef. 325–6 (Hagen).

¹⁵ Varro, *Rer. Hum.* 11 cited in Prob. Verg. *Ecl.* Praef. 325–6 (Hagen); Costabile (1979) 531–5.

pipe-player, and were commemorated with a monument at Olympia. What is significant is that the chorus was on its way from Messana to a local festival at Rhegium. Messana (formerly Zankle) had been (re)founded by Anaxilas of Rhegium in 488, and it seems likely that the choral embassy from Messana to Rhegium dates to that period, although the festival itself was older than this.¹⁶

Some personalities

Western performers traveled to the mainland and beyond. I shall return later to the cases of Ibycus and Stesichorus and their travels, but they must surely have been only the tip of the iceberg. Timaeus (at Strabo 6.1.9) told a narrative of two South Italian cithara-players competing at the Pythian Games: Eunomus of Locri and Ariston of Rhegium. Each claimed that he should win, Ariston because Rhegium was colonized from Delphi and Eunomus because Ariston was from Rhegium, on whose side of the River Halex (which separates the territories of the two cities) the cicadas do not sing (the geographical peculiarity that interests Strabo). Eunomus won the contest, even though Ariston was more greatly favored, because when a string of his lyre broke a cicada sat on his instrument and supplied the missing note. The historical setting of the anecdote is probably the sixth century; more suggestive than the mythicizing story of the cicada is the association between musical and *polis* identity and the evidence it gives us in passing of the energy with which western poets strove for success in panhellenic venues, presumably with their own distinctive musical personality.¹⁷ We catch a glimpse of a lively network of traveling choruses and traveling poets.

While there is not enough evidence to come to grips with the specific nature of the music presented by Ariston and Eunomus, the situation is a little easier with another member of the formidable tradition of Locrian poetry. Xenocritus of Locri was involved, according to tradition, in the second reorganization of Spartan music and the festival of the Gymnopaedia in the early seventh century. He is associated with Thaletas and Xenodamus of Cythera as a composer of paeans, and is also said to have composed in

¹⁶ For the cult of Apollo at Rhegium, as well as the shipwrecked chorus, see Mosino (1977); Costabile (1979). For the extended period of paeans and the consequent plenitude of paean composition in Italy, see Aristoxenus, cited in Apollonius *Hist. Mir.* 40.

¹⁷ For a more detailed consideration of the connection between musical and *polis* identity here see Berlinzani (2002).

(or even invented) the “Locrian” harmony.¹⁸ We know a very little about the content of his music because he presented a problem of classification for ancient scholars, who disputed whether he should be seen as a composer of paeans or of dithyrambs, because he was a composer of “heroic themes containing actions.”¹⁹ The ramifications of this issue for the study of Archaic genre are far-reaching and cannot be considered here. It does seem, however, that we can reconstruct the presence of developed lyric narration of heroic exploits in the musical world of the west, as well as distinctive traditions of local song that conform only with difficulty to generic expectations set by later Alexandrian and other scholars.²⁰ Xenocritus was a significant enough musical exemplar that he featured in a paean or hyporchema composed by Pindar, fragment 140b. Pindar’s chorus talks about a Locrian who devised a song and harmony for pipes and a fitting paean for Apollo that they compare to a clear-sounding chariot. The singer declares himself roused in response to the Locrian’s brief songs like a dolphin excited by the music of pipes: “I . . . am incited to respond like a dolphin of the sea, which the lovely melody of pipes has set in motion in the expanse of the waveless open sea.”²¹ Commentators have rightly seen here Pindar’s “creative reaction” to Xenocritus’ paean; the text expresses both appreciation and emulation, as Pindar’s choral dolphins, embodying animal spontaneity, make manifest the dolphin’s love of music as they did with Arion.²² Xenocritus’ paean may well have seemed uncomplicated and of few words, a monumental

¹⁸ Plut. [*De mus.*] 10b–e; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 10.17k (Drachmann): “He is not wide of the mark when he calls the Locrians devotees of the Muses (*mousikous*), for there is a ‘Locrian’ harmony, which Xenocritus of Locri is said to have employed.” Cf. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 10.18b (Drachmann). The Locrian mode was identical with the Aeolian and Hypodorian mode (Rutherford (2001) 384, with further discussion of Xenocritus’ modes. See also Ath. 14.625e). For Locrian poetry: Fileni (1987) 15–16; Burnett (1988) 139.

¹⁹ Plut. [*De mus.*] 10e. The translation is Rutherford’s (2001) 383. ²⁰ Cf. Fileni (1987) 21–31.

²¹ [ἐρε]θίζομαι πρὸς αὐτὰ[ν] / ἁλίου δελφίνος ὑπόκρισιν, / τὸν μὲν ἀκύμονος ἐν πόντου πελάγει / αὐλῶν ἐκίνησ’ ἐρατὸν μέλος (140b.13–17). On the Pindar poem see Fileni (1987), Henderson (1992), Rutherford (2001) 382–7, Ferrari (1990) 232–4. There is some disagreement about whether the poem sets up the Locrian in opposition to or as a renewer of Ionian music. I find most convincing the arguments of Rutherford (2001) 383–4 that the relationship is oppositional, given that the Locrian mode is clearly distinguished from the Ionian. The identification of the Locrian with Xenocritus has been made since the papyrus was first published. For the connection of dolphins with cultic choral dance, see the important article of Csapo (2003). Csapo’s focus is on dolphins as Dionysiac dancers in a circular chorus, although he also observes (p. 90) that divine epiphany and dolphins feature in the parallel foundation myth for the paean in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. It is interesting, given the ambivalent traditions on Xenocritus as composer of songs that can be seen both as paeans and as dithyrambs, that Pindar (possibly in a paean) surrounds the ship of Xenocritus’ song with a dolphin escort.

²² Mancuso (1912) 83; Henderson (1992) 153–5 (quote at 154); Rutherford (2001) 387. For the (implicit) connection between 140b and Arion, see Plut. *De soll. an.* 984b–d; Fileni (1987) 46.

dedication of archaic musical art, but its force endured. Its steady beat in the Locrian mode, generated by the *aulos* (as was also the beat for the oars shipboard on a windless sea), inspires contemporary song.²³ The imagery of the song naturalizes the process of diachronic poetic rivalry by presenting it as a synchronic picture of the natural world responding to music and combining this with overtones of divine epiphany (we may remember Apollo's epiphany as a dolphin in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*). It also maps this competition onto sea routes of cultural and commercial exchange; the allusion implies that Xenocritus' music has traveled (again like Arion) across the waters that separate the west from the Greek mainland. It presumes a world in which a Locrian paeon demands attention as part of a common heritage of performance; one would expect no less from a composer seen as foundational for the history of Spartan music.

Xenocritus, then, was a figure of musical authority, but also a puzzle whose heroic narratives challenged categorization. Mancuso saw his work as a precursor of Arion's dithyrambs and reconstructed a mimetic-dramatic element in his songs, but he also saw him as a precursor to Stesichorus, Ibycus, and Pindar in terms of generic innovation.²⁴ The evidence is, as we have seen, too scanty to securely identify dramatic paeans or dithyrambs, but his place as a creative force does seem secure.

When we come to Stesichorus, we at last reach firmer (although by no means solid) ground. The last decades have seen an explosion, due to papyrus finds, in the study and knowledge of this crucial bridge figure between epic, lyric, and drama. The *Suda* and the majority of modern interpreters locate him chronologically in the late seventh and first half of the sixth century (632/628 to 556/552 BC in the *Suda*'s dating by Olympiads). He is associated geographically with Himera, a Chalcidian colony on the north coast of Sicily, although another tradition makes Mataurus in South Italy his birthplace.²⁵ His poetry was preserved in twenty-six books, and he was canonized by the Alexandrians as one of the nine lyric poets. Quintilian's oft-quoted evaluation (10.1.62), that he "sustains with his lyre the weight of epic poetry," but that his diffuseness and redundancy prevent him from being a serious rival to Homer, encapsulates three important aspects of his production: his discursiveness and amplitude (we know, for example, that his *Oresteia* took up two books and that the *Geryoneis* was at least 1,300 lines long), his focus on epic material, and his role as an important citharode. A lively modern debate centers on whether we should think of his

²³ For the role of the *aulos*, see Fileni (1987) 46. ²⁴ Mancuso (1912) 81–2.

²⁵ Treatments of date and birthplace: West (1971) 302–6; Willi (2008) 51–4.

poetry as performed by a solo singer or by a chorus. In favor of the former is the length of his poems; triadic composition and his “speaking name” (“he who sets up the chorus”) may imply the latter.²⁶ I incline towards the latter scenario, but for present purposes we may focus on his role as an innovator in terms of both form and content. As Haslam has pointed out, the first preserved examples of autonomous dactylo-epitrite meter are in Stesichorus, and it may well be that Stesichorus was the inventor of this meter (which reoccurs in Pindar as well as in the lyric sections of Attic tragedy).²⁷ Willi’s recent and meticulous analysis of the language of Stesichorus as preserved in the fragments concludes that Stesichorus’ poetry is epic in terms of vocabulary and diction, but that morphologically and phonologically it is the language of Doric lyric.²⁸ This can be interpreted as an expression of a Sicilian cultural *koine*, an issue to which we shall shortly return, but for the moment we can be satisfied with an initial point, that Stesichorus fuses at several levels impulses that we might call epic and lyric, and that, as we saw with Xenocritus, the precise generic boundaries of his oeuvre escape easy categorization.

The subject matter of the poems themselves ranges broadly. We know of (to mention only a few examples) an *Oresteia*, a *Geryoneis* (telling the story of Heracles’ labor to acquire the cattle of Geryon, a monstrous inhabitant of the west), a *Helen* (together with his famous *Palinode*, in which the poet denied that Helen ever went to Troy), a *Seven Against Thebes*, a *Fall of Troy*, and a *Nostoi* (relating the returns of heroes from the Trojan War). These were influential works, on the mainland as well as in the west. Stesichorus was, we hear, the first to show Heracles in his trademark outfit of club, lionskin, and bow (Ath. 12.512e–513a), a novelty that was swiftly adopted by many vase-painters.²⁹ He also seems to have been an inspiration for some aspects of Aeschylean tragic plotting. His *Oresteia* featured a dream in which Clytemnestra imagined that a snake appeared to her with a bloodied head, and that from that head came a Pleisthenid king (*PMGF* 219; presumably Agamemnon or Orestes).³⁰ Aeschylus was to transform this dream motif in the *Choephoroi* (523–50), and like Stesichorus, he employed the character of Orestes’ nurse, albeit with a different name (*PMGF* 218). Already

²⁶ On the resonances of the name, see Nagy (1990) 361–3, 371–2. For a good summary of the issue of choral vs. monodic performance, see Willi (2008) 76–81. West, by contrast (1971) 309, 312–13, denies any essential connection between triadic structure and choral performance (cf. Haslam (1974) 33). Burnett (1988) 130–5 makes an argument for choral performance that attractively sees Stesichorus as a developer of “new combinations” (p. 134), transferring auletic traditions to the realm of the lyre.

²⁷ Haslam (1974) 52–3. ²⁸ Willi (2008) 71–5. ²⁹ Robertson (1969) 212–13.

³⁰ Davies (1969) 249; Burnett (1988) 112 with n. 18.

in antiquity, scholars used such similarities to argue for the importance of Stesichorus as a source for Attic tragedy. Thus the commentator preserved in *P Oxy.* 2506 fr. 26 col. ii (*PMGF* 217) creates a literary line of descent from Homer and Hesiod through Stesichorus to Attic tragedy: the majority of poets after him used his narratives and “after Homer and Hesiod they agree with Stesichorus more than anybody.” He gives as an example the recognition scene in the *Choephoroi* where Electra identifies Orestes by means of a lock of his hair: “this is in Stesichorus.”³¹ We need not imagine that Aeschylus required trips to Sicily to become familiar with the work of the Sicilian poet, although his visits will certainly have reinforced the opportunities offered by Stesichorus as a literary resource. Stesichorus’ poetry must have been widely diffused and it seems likely enough that, like his poetic forebears, he visited the mainland; a tradition to this effect is preserved on the Parian Marble (although the chronology is confused),³² and as we shall see, one way of interpreting “Spartan” elements in his poetry is to reconstruct a visit to Sparta.

Stesichorus was thus a crucial nodal point in the development of mythological narrative poetry, absorbing the heritage of epic and transforming it into lyric narrative that had a taste for strong and dramatic characterization.³³ If, as I think, his poetry was chorally performed, its vivid narrative and speeches will have prepared the way for dramatic performances. It will also, like much archaic choral lyric, have had a role to play in the creation of civic identity. His *Oresteia* seems to have described itself as a “public song of the Graces” (Χαρίτων δαμώματα, *PMGF* 212.1), which suggests both choral performance and a notion that the narrative is public property.³⁴ But whose identity? This question would be much easier to answer if we were surer about Stesichorus’ movements and the occasions of his poetry, and is all the more important because the answers we formulate are heavy with implications for the nature of western lyric performance. The *Oresteia* is again a good example here. In an early attempt to draw political conclusions about the composition of the poem, Bowra noted that Stesichorus placed the palace of Agamemnon at Sparta rather than at Argos

³¹ See also Thalmann (1982) for a discussion of how the theme of allotment in Stesichorus’ *Seven Against Thebes* is picked up in Aeschylus play of the same name (cf. Burnett (1988) 112).

³² Under the year 485/4.

³³ Arrighetti (1994) 27; Burnett (1988) 119, 126 (on the characterization of Jocasta in *PLille* 76, [*PMGF* 222(b)]): “His impulse will be recognizable in his achieved effects, and these prove to be very much like the effects of tragedy.”; cf. Hutchinson (2001) 117–119. Note however, that Stesichorus’ *Oresteia* had a western precedent. Xanthus of Locri, a shadowy figure, also composed an *Oresteia* that was thought to have been influential for Stesichorus (Ath. 12.513a).

³⁴ Willi (2008) 80.

and interpreted this as a reflection of a Spartan attempt to appropriate the hero (who did, after all, receive cult there). He connected this move with the famous *Palinode* in which the poet took back his calumnious treatment of Helen and denied she ever went to Troy. The reason: that Helen too was the recipient of cult at Sparta and was seen there as the “chaste patroness of young girls, throned in the sky and honoured with libations.”³⁵ It seemed plausible, then, to reconstruct a visit to Sparta by the poet. More recently however the pendulum has swung in a different direction. We have seen already that mythological traditions on the wanderings of Orestes placed him in South Italy. Perhaps, then, we might speculate that Stesichorus’ *Oresteia* was composed for the springtime festival of paeans at Rhegium, or that “Spartan” elements may best be explained by the heavily Spartan atmosphere at Tarentum (in the case of the *Oresteia*) or (in the case of the *Palinode*) the importance of the cult of the Dioscuri, Helen’s brothers, at Tarentum and Locri.³⁶

Both sets of approaches seek to claim for Stesichorus a status as a poet championing local traditions.³⁷ While one privileges the Greek mainland as the site for mythological manipulation with cultural consequences, the other, in line with contemporary readiness to evaluate the culture of the west on its own terms rather than as an addendum to mainland developments, makes him reflect more closely western cultic interests. It is difficult to perform a neutral adjudication here or to find a definitive solution to the problem of occasion in the preserved fragments. Certainly a persuasive case can be made for Stesichorus as an epichoric poet. It has been suggested by D’Alessio that “foreign” poets often helped to construct local identity in the Archaic and Classical periods, and we are by now comfortable with the idea that public poetic performance is a crucial forum for the expression and exploration of civic identity.³⁸ Himerius said that Stesichorus “not only made Himera free of tyrants but also embellished her in speech” (27.27.126ff., *PMGF* 270) and this encouraged Burnett to think that he “sang his city’s institutions into existence.”³⁹ If the chorus is a microcosm of community then he who sets it up is overlaid almost with an aura of founder or lawgiver. Stesichorus’ foundational poetic role would then be reflected also in his subject matter. It has often been suggested that his poems drew especially on narrative material that was relevant to western concerns. Orestes is, as we have seen, one example, but others have been suggested: the *Seven Against Thebes* as a foundation tale gone wrong, the

³⁵ Bowra (1934) 116. ³⁶ Burnett (1988) 145–7; Willi (2008) 84.

³⁷ An approach pushed even further by Beecroft (2006). See also Smith, this volume.

³⁸ D’Alessio (2009). ³⁹ Burnett (1988) 137.

Boar Hunters as featuring the Locrians and Achaeans of the mainland, who were important colonial presences, the *Fall of Troy* that brought Aeneas to Italy, and of course the *Geryoneis*, set in the west.⁴⁰ Willi has even analyzed Stesichorean poetics in terms of cultural hybridity, the fusion of a Dorian tradition of choral lyric with a predominantly Ionic epic tradition and one that represents a hybrid Sicilian cultural community.⁴¹

This is an attractive picture and surely right in many respects. Stesichorus will have composed for local festivals and deployed versions of mythological narratives that had particular resonance for his audiences. His poetry had civic significance and expressed political interests. One example of this could be the complex of narratives explored by Smith later in this volume, where Stesichorus' presentation of Heracles' travels in Sicily, taken together with other fragments on various other local heroes, can be interpreted as asserting early sixth-century Dorian claims to the Aeolian Islands and parts of eastern Sicily. Clearly, there is wide scope for approaches of this kind. We should be cautious, however, about allowing the epichoric model to become reductive.⁴² Stesichorus was an innovator, but his innovations were not simply a reflex of living in the multicultural west. He was not the first lyric poet there, and we simply do not have the evidence to say that he marks the point where colonial poetry starts to separate itself from that of the mainland.⁴³ Such an approach may overstate the uniformity of genres of song on the mainland (as though some kind of generic canon existed there from which the west had to work to free itself), as well as shortchanging the contribution of poets such as Xenocritus. Innovation, both at the level of content and at that of musical form, is the lifeblood of archaic Greek poetry throughout the entire Greek world. Poetry was often characterized by an argumentative stance, a desire to differentiate itself from and surpass what had come before.⁴⁴ This is as true of Hesiod as it is of Stesichorus. It may be useful to see the Archaic period, and the sixth century in particular, as a time of generative poetic ferment, as poets travel back and forth between Ionia, the mainland and the west, competing at festivals both local and panhellenic, inventing nomes, inventing meters, inventing modes, and mapping out the boundaries of genres as they did of their Mediterranean world. Stesichorus'

⁴⁰ Burnett (1988) 151; Arrighetti (1994) 20–2; Willi (2008) 85–9. ⁴¹ Willi (2008) 82–90.

⁴² See the cautionary discussion of Arrighetti (1994) 22–30, as well as the remarks of Hall in this volume (particularly on the “oscillation between civic identity and a mainland orientation” and the need for a “model that takes adequate account of both active agency and historical contingency”).

⁴³ Willi (2008) 52 (“... wie sich die koloniale Dichtung mit Stesichoros allmählich vom Mutterland zu lösen beginnt”).

⁴⁴ Griffith (1990).

Oresteia and his *Helen/Palinode* (as well as the poet himself) would have met with an enthusiastic reception in Rhegium, Tarentum, and Sparta, but also in Athens.

The little that we can reconstruct of the activities of Ibycus reinforces a picture of inter-*polis* mobility. Born in Rhegium, he probably spent time in Sicyon in the Peloponnese and, with greater certainty, at the court of Polycrates of Samos in the second half of the sixth century.⁴⁵ He wrote an encomium for him, in triads, with epic coloring and Doric dialect that remind us of Stesichorus. Like Stesichorus, he wrote a *Geryoneid* and a *Fall of Troy*. Recently he has been seen as an important forerunner, or indeed an early practitioner, of epinician poetry. One poem (*P Oxy.* 2735, fr. 1 = *PMGFS*166) seems to have been composed in honor of a Spartan *laudandus* and includes athletic success as part of its praise. Two or three other poems also had athletic resonance, as well as the erotic charge for which Ibycus was famous in antiquity.⁴⁶ To the extent that this can be reconstructed, he wrote for a broad geographical range of honorands: from Sparta, Samos, possibly from Athens, from Leontini, and perhaps from Syracuse. This last speculation is based upon two fragments (*PMGF* 321 and 323) that record him telling the tale of how Syracusan Ortygia was transformed from an island into a peninsula and how its spring, Arethusa, was connected with the river Alpheus at Olympia. The latter is in his narrative about the “Olympic cup” (which, when thrown into the Alpheus at Olympia, was said to have emerged in Arethusa).⁴⁷ This geographic range makes it dangerous to assume, as was often the case until recently, that Ibycus’ career trajectory was predominantly mono-directional, starting in the west as a Stesichorean poet of quasi-epic mythological narrative, and ending on Samos as an erotic and encomiastic composer.⁴⁸ His travels and his generic affiliations may have been more complex. An “author of erotically tinged praise” (to use Bowie’s phrase) could have used mythological narrative to a variety of ends, both as a positive foil for the achievements of an honorand or to celebrate a god or hero at a festival (in Italy or the mainland).⁴⁹ There were no handbooks to tell him that he marked a transition from west to east, from impersonal to personal poetry.

⁴⁵ Sicyon: Barron (1969) 132–3, 137; on problems of dating: Barron (1969) 136–7; Gerber (1997) 187–8.

⁴⁶ Barron (1984) 20–2; Gerber (1997) 190 with n. 14; Rawles forthcoming.

⁴⁷ Barron (1984) 20; cf. Bowie (2009) 123.

⁴⁸ Good characterizations of this approach summarized (but not necessarily endorsed) at Barron (1984) 19; Gerber (1997) 190–1; Bowie (2009) 123–4.

⁴⁹ Bowie (2009) 24.

Let me end this survey of generic ferment and geographic mobility to the end of the sixth century by glancing briefly at a different area of performance, one that may help contextualize the chapters in this volume that will be concerned with Epicharmus. I refer to the importance of “iambic” poetry in Sicily. Once again, the evidence is scanty, though suggestive. We have already had reason to consider the occurrence of informal *aischrologia* at the Syracusan Thesmophoria. Two sets of more formal performers also come into question, the Syracusan *iambistai*, and Aristoxenus of Selinus. We know of the former from Athenaeus (who may be reporting Timaeus here): “Greek music was generally diverse, given that the Athenians preferred Dionysiac and other cyclic choruses, the Syracusans preferred iambists, and other peoples preferred other things” (5.181c).⁵⁰ Aside from throwing an interesting light on epichoric musical preferences, this testimonium implies public performances of iambic poetry, and possibly also suggests a religious or civic context.⁵¹ Aristoxenus of Selinus was a contemporary of Archilochus, and was a significant enough presence in the Sicilian performance world that he was mentioned by Epicharmus. Some controversy exists over whether he should be considered a representative of a Dorian style of iambic poetry or as a composer of Dorian comedy like Epicharmus,⁵² but the important issue at the moment is Epicharmus’ creation of a poetic genealogy in his play *Logos and Logina* (fr. 77 PCG), where he talks about a particular kind of *iamboi* that Aristoxenus introduced. The fragment is unfortunately corrupt, and so it is difficult to specify the nature of the *iamboi* precisely. Nevertheless, the hypothesis of some kind of theatrical performance is attractive.⁵³

We thus end as we began, with a picture of an energetic western culture at an experimental time. Western civic spaces and their associated festivals were alive with both formal and informal performances: *aischrologia* and *iamboi*, komastic processions, dancing to the pipes, dancing horses, choral songs and citharodic performances in a variety of styles, as well as songs of praise and victory. We could add even dramatic performances such as may have been composed by Aristoxenus, although the example of Stesichorus is enough to show us that the “dramatic” in dramatic poetry can be understood in many ways. Western poets and performers such as Xenocritus, Eunomus, Ariston, Stesichorus and Ibycus traveled east to extend their fame and make a

⁵⁰ Translation: Olson (2006) vol. II: 401, adapted by Rotstein (2010) 267.

⁵¹ Rotstein (2010) 268. Cf. Mancuso (1912) 76, who interprets *iambistas* as writers of *iamboi*.

⁵² See now the discussion of Rotstein (2010) 213–21.

⁵³ Rotstein (2010) 220–21. See also the remarks of Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, this volume, on Aristoxenus as a forerunner of Epicharmus.

fortune, but the semi-legendary figure of Arion may indicate that the reverse was also the case. The dynamic interaction between epichoric performance and inter-*polis* exchange is constitutive of archaic song.

Deinomenid Syracuse: the finest music

When we reach the first part of the fifth century the “cloud of legend” that West saw laying over the west before the reign of Hieron (478–467/66) begins to disperse. Not only that, but a massive concentration of poetic activity is evident at Acragas and particularly at Syracuse.⁵⁴ The two great ruling families of Sicily, the Emmenids of Acragas and the Deinomenids of Syracuse, engaged in a systematic program of poetic commission whose density goes far beyond occasional celebration. The immediate cause for much of the poetry in their honor was victory with their horses in (mostly panhellenic) games. Hippic competition was important in Sicily. Sicilian victors were well represented in hippic victories at Olympia, a tradition especially prominent in the years between 508 and 461, when one third of the twenty-four known hippic victors at Olympia were Sicilian. The Sicilian landscape was well suited to horses and their importance was one reason why the chariot team was central to the self-presentation of Syracuse through its coinage. Like many Greek aristocrats, Sicilian tyrannical families expended considerable energy on horse rearing and competition, but they expressed their pride and ambition in multiple poetic commissions. Both Pindar and Simonides may have celebrated Emmenid chariot victory in 476: Simonides wrote for Xenocrates’ Isthmian victory while Pindar wrote for Theron’s Olympic triumph (*Ol.* 2 and *Ol.* 3). Both Pindar and Bacchylides composed odes (*Ol.* 1 and Bacch. 5) for Hieron’s achievement in the single horse race in the same year. Hieron’s chariot victory at Delphi in 470 was also marked by multiple commissions to Pindar and Bacchylides (*Pind.* *Pyth.* 1 and Bacchyl. 4). Commissions by the Emmenids to Pindar and Simonides create a network of family victory celebrations where Theron, his brother Xenocrates, and his nephew Thrasybulus are linked one with another in terms of their success at the games. The case of the Deinomenids is slightly more complex. While Simonides may have composed for Gelon, Pindar and Bacchylides

⁵⁴ West (1971) 302. The treatment of Pindar and Bacchylides that follows is a condensed version of parts of Morgan, in press. My focus here on tyrannical commissions should not be taken to imply that Pindaric poetic activity was lacking elsewhere in the west (although the bulk of his Sicilian compositions were for the Deinomenids, the Emmenids, and their henchmen). We know, for example, that Pindar wrote two victory odes for Hagesidamus of Epizephyrian Locri in 476.

were connected to Hieron, and Pindar also wrote for members of Hieron's circle.⁵⁵

Neither Deinomenids nor Emmenids restricted their poetic wish list to epinician odes. The preserved fragments of Pindaric encomia and hyporchemata show that musical festivity was conceived as an integral part of the culture of Hieron's court. This is the context for the theatrical (and even philosophical) activity in Syracuse in the years between 478 when Hieron came to power and the fall of the Deinomenid tyranny in 466. Put quite simply, Hieron's Syracuse saw the development of a court of literary brilliance unprecedented in the Greek world. Anecdotal evidence places the rhapsode, Homeric critic, and philosopher Xenophanes there, although he would have been old at the time.⁵⁶ Besides the lyric poets Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides, Aeschylus the Athenian was persuaded to present two tragedies (at least one, the *Women of Aitna*, composed to celebrate a theme of particular local resonance, as other chapters of this book will show). If it is true that the tragic poet Phrynichus died in Sicily, it may be that he too visited Hieron's court, and we would have to ask why.⁵⁷ Aeschylus' presentation of the *Persians* in Syracuse may give us a clue. Whether or not *Persians* received its initial performance in Syracuse, as Bosher argues in this volume, it is clear that Hieron wanted the play performed as part of a larger program to glorify his family in the wake of the Battle of Himera of 480 (where the Syracusans under Gelon decisively defeated the Carthaginians who had come to the aid of that city's tyrant, Terillus, against Theron of Acragas). Pindar's odes for Hieron, especially *Pythian* 1 (which mentions explicitly the battles at Himera, Salamis, and Plataea), participate in this program. What, then, if Phrynichus was in Syracuse as part of the same cultural agenda, as the poet who had won first prize in Athens in 476 with his *Phoenician Women*? This play had told the tale of the Battle of Salamis and was the immediate forerunner of the *Persians*. The sources give no indication that the *Phoenician Women* was performed in Syracuse, but if Phrynichus' visit is historical, it seems to me to be a good bet that such a performance took place.

Hieron thus attracted to Syracuse a minimum of three lyric poets and (perhaps) two Attic tragedians. He also had the good fortune to have local

⁵⁵ Apart from the odes mentioned in the text above, we have (1) for Hieron: *Pyth.* 2, *Pyth.* 3, encomia fr. 124d, 125, 126, hyporchemata fr. 105–6, and Bacch. 3, fr. 20C; (2) for Chromius, Hieron's brother in law and regent of Aetna: *Nem.* 1, *Nem.* 9; (3) for Hagesias, another trusted associate: *Ol.* 6.

⁵⁶ DK 21A8 (reporting the notice of Timaeus transmitted in Clem. *Strom.* 1.64) and A11.

⁵⁷ Anon. *De com.* Dübner, p. xv, III, 42; Polacco and Anti 1981: 34. On Phrynichus in Sicily, see the cautionary remarks of Harvey (2000) 114–15 but also the remarks of Bosher in this volume, 102 n. 30.

talent on the spot in the person of the comic playwright Epicharmus (for whom see further the contributions of Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén and Willi in this volume). Epicharmus had been active at Syracuse even before the Deinomenid takeover, but we know that his play the *Islands* mentioned Hieron's intervention in South Italy on behalf of the Epizephyrian Locrians, and he did not go unaffected by the poetic all-stars present in Syracuse in the 470s. His play *Logos and Logina* alludes unmistakably to Tantalus' cannibalistic banquet and to Pindar's *Olympian* 1 in which that narrative plays a central role.⁵⁸ Moreover, the titles of two of his plays, *Epinikios* and *Choreuontes* (Heph. *Encheiridion* 8.2–3), may resonate with the literary climate of the court: *Epinikios* can profitably be understood as playing on the fever of epinician production that characterized Hieron's reign, and *Choreuontes* ("Dancers") also situates us in the world of choral production (although we cannot be sure of the nature of the dancing referred to here). There is accordingly every indication that Dorian comedy in Syracuse took advantage of the opportunities presented by a time of excitement, upheaval, and victory in multiple arenas, and by a leader determined to make his mark in the arts.

Hieron's ambitions in this area were conspicuous enough that they generated explicit notice among both contemporaries and posterity. A passage of Aelian (*VH* 4.15) lends psychological color to his patronage of the arts by connecting it with his illness. At first, Aelian reports, Hieron was the most uncultured (ἄμουσότατον) of men, differing in this respect not a whit from his brother Gelon. After he became sick, however, he became most cultured (μουσικώτατος), because he used the leisure of his sickbed as an educational opportunity. We would, no doubt, be ill advised to place too much reliance on late biographical anecdote and its psychologizing. Yet it does prove how obtrusive Hieron's cultural profile was, particularly when compared to that of his elder brother Gelon (of whose literary patronage the only possible example is the victory ode – no longer extant – that may have been written by Simonides for his Olympic chariot victory of 488).⁵⁹ If we look at the songs of praise written for Hieron by Pindar and Bacchylides, we find something similar. Bacchylides 3.71 (written in 468 just before Hieron's death) comments how the victor "has a share in the violet-haired Muses" and the same author's fifth epinician (for his Olympic horse victory in 476) had gone even further: "You, of any mortal now alive, will know correctly the sweet gift that is the adornment of the Muses with their violet crowns"

⁵⁸ Fr. 76 *PCG*; Arnson Svarlien (1990–1) 106–8. See also Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén this volume, 83.

⁵⁹ Molyneux (1992) 220–1.

(γνώση μὲν [i]οστεφάνων / Μοισᾶν γλυκ[ύ]δωρον ἄγαλμα, τῶν γε νῦν / αἶ τις ἐπιχθονίων, / ὀρθῶς, 5.3–6). These elegant lines combine nicely the idea that Hieron is a musical expert able to appreciate Bacchylides' song and that one of the reasons for this expertise is Hieron's outstanding achievement, which generates numberless songs in his honor (not to mention his innate righteousness that knows how to interpret praise).

Pindar's praise of Hieron's music is more complex still. In *Olympian* 6, an ode written not for Hieron, but for one of his associates, Hagesias, the final triad pictures the arrival of the victory *komos* in Syracuse. The poet, in a move that brings Hieron into a position like that of a receptive deity, hopes that he will receive it kindly, and prefaces this by saying "sweet-speaking lyres and songs know him" (ἀδύλογοι δὲ νιν λύραι μολπαὶ τε γινώσκοντι, 6.96–7). Here again, the implication is that Hieron is the object of musical celebration, which is both a compliment in itself and a hint that he has the sophistication necessary to welcome the current ode. Music knows him, but, reciprocally and as in Bacchylides above, he knows music. This was not Pindar's first picture of a court full of song. In the famous opening of the first *Olympian* ode, composed in 476 for the same victory as Bacchylides 5, the idea had received genial elaboration:

... ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται
σοφῶν μητίεσσι, κελαδεῖν
Κρόνου παῖδ' ἐς ἀφνεὰν ἰκομένους (10)

μάκαιραν Ἰέρωνος ἐστίαν,
θεμιστεῖον δὲς ἀμφέπει σκᾶπτον ἐν πολυμήλῳ
Σικελίᾳ δρέπων μὲν κορυφὰς ἀρετᾶν ἀπο πασᾶν,
ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ
μουσικᾶς ἐν ἁώτῳ, (15)
οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν

ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν. ἀλλὰ Δω-
ρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου
λάμβαν', εἴ τί τοι Πίσας τε καὶ Φερενίκου χάρις
νόον ὑπὸ γλυκυτάταις ἔθηκε φροντίσιν,

... the renowned hymn crowns the contrivances of the wise,
to sing the son of Cronus after their arrival
at Hieron's blessed hearth,
Hieron, who wields the scepter of justice
in Sicily with its rich flocks,
harvesting the peaks of all excellence.
He glories also in the finest music,
the kind that we men often sport with
around the table of friendship.

But take the Dorian lyre from the peg,
 if the grace due to Pisa and Pherenicus
 has alerted the mind to sweetest thoughts.

We note how the passage sets up Hieron's court as the focal point of song, and song of different types. The previous line, not quoted here, had focused on the contest of Olympia. Our passage, therefore, transports us in a flash from the Peloponnese to Syracuse, and in a generalizing mode, as if the "wise" or "expert" had, in a group, made the voyage to Hieron's court (as, in fact, they *had*). At this court, Hieron sits as a quasi-Hesiodic good king, whose justice has ensured the fertility and well being of people, flocks, and crops. Yet it is not just crops of wheat he harvests, although Sicily was famous enough for that, but metaphorical crops: the choicest fruits (as it were) of excellence. These fruits of excellence are partly cultural. Hieron glories in the finest music; once more the connoisseur. And if we read the verb here as passive instead of middle (ἀγλαΐζεται, 14) – the grammatical ambiguity is both intentional and meaningful – he is glorified by the finest music. Pindar's evocation of the "table of friendship," which must be the table of the symposium, again evokes a world of song. This is the table around which Hieron's comrades, including the poet, engage in musical sport, and it is contrasted, via the Dorian lyre, with the formal performance of the victory ode that is about to start (and which has, in reality, already begun).⁶⁰ This compact sequence establishes Hieron's court as the locus for both informal and formal song, both outstanding of their kind, and makes Pindar's ode the culmination of this song tradition.

Olympian 1 and Bacchylides 5 both emphasize Hieron's musical expertise more than the corresponding passages we examined in *Olympian* 6 and Bacchylides 3. They were both composed in 476, relatively soon after the beginning of Hieron's reign in Syracuse. This may suggest that the formation of his musical *bona fides* was an early priority for Hieron, and reflects an ongoing project to bring other famous names, like Aeschylus and Phrynichus, to the city. By the late 470s, the policy was well established, and thus received less explicit emphasis in the later odes. By the time Pindar writes *Pythian* 1 for Hieron's Delphic chariot victory of 470, the connection between choral song and Hieron's kingship is conceived in a more universalizing manner, and it is with this ode that I shall end my discussion of Pindar. Although the subtleties of this ode escape the scope of the present

⁶⁰ Cf. Morgan (1993) 2–3.

treatment, it will be useful to draw attention briefly to the way in which Pindar presents choral song as the expression of harmonious rule sanctioned by Zeus.

The ode opens with a famous invocation to the power of music:

Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων

σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τᾷς ἀκούει

μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά,

πείθονται δ' αἰδοὶ σάμασιν

ἀγησιχόρων ὁπότεν προοιμίων

ἀμβολὰς τεύχης ἐλελιζομένα.

καὶ τὸν αἶχματὰν κεραυνὸν σβεννύεις

αἰενάου πυρός. εὖδει δ' ἀνὰ σκά-

πτῳ Διὸς αἰετός

5

Golden lyre, possession and advocate of Apollo
and the Muses with their violet hair,
the dance step which begins the festivity hears you
and singers obey your signals
whenever you quiver and fashion the preludes
of the proems that begin the dance.
You quench even the pointed lightening
with its ever-flowing fire. On his sceptre
the eagle of Zeus sleeps

The music of Olympus enchants and calms all who hear it, beginning with Zeus' own eagle and his thunderbolt. The details of this idyll stress the order, authority, and obedience; the sound of the lyre is part of an orderly system of discourse and judgment. The scene on Olympus has been constructed to allow it to resonate with the performance of Pindar's song in Syracuse. As Simpson remarks, it is "an apotheosized version of a real court, one such as Hieron's. Or, to put it the other way around, one might say that such a court as Hieron's has been raised to an ideal plane."⁶¹ Both performances celebrate the victory of Zeus' divine order.

It shortly emerges that Zeus' enemies are appalled by the sound of music, primarily Typhon, the dreadful monster defeated by Zeus. He is still imprisoned under Mt. Aetna, which had erupted six years previously and which was the location for Hieron's new *polis* of Aetna. Indeed, *Pythian* 1 is often considered as a kind of "foundation hymn" for the city because Hieron's

⁶¹ Simpson (1969) 455. For more on the role of music in the ode, see Brillante (1992).

act of foundation is explicitly invoked more than once (30–8, 61–2).⁶² The ode presents the foundation as the new instantiation of divine order,⁶³ a strong response to the “Typhonic” forces that affected Hieron’s reign in two separate ways. The first was the eruption of the volcano. The second was the threatening armies of the Phoenicians and Etruscans: the Deinomenids resisted the former victoriously at the Battle of Himera, and both at the Battle of Cumae in 474. At lines 72–80, these battles are, famously, set in the context of the mainland victories against the Persians, but the rhetoric of the ode makes Cumae the culmination of panhellenic effort against the barbarian. Hieron’s victory here is seen in terms of containing the barbarian war-cry in its own sphere (72), and so again, the virtues of Zeus-supported ordered chorality triumph over the chaotic eruptions of Typhon and the barbarians. Pindar’s song makes the *polis* of Aetna a central axis that connects the underworld, earth, and heaven. Around this axis rotate the Greek mainland, and peripheral barbarian powers. All of this is expressed in the image of choral song that governs the ode, and it is only at the conclusion that we return to the small matter of the fame and reputation generated by song. The evil tyrant Phalaris (95–8) is presented as a negative exemplum for Hieron. He is oppressed by a hateful reputation: “the lyres that echo in the hall do not take him into the gentle community formed by boys’ soft voices.” Hieron’s fame closes the ode, but only after we have been taught the cosmic implications of his kingship, of song in general and his musical aspirations in particular. The lyres may not know Phalaris, but they know Hieron, and he knows them.

Conclusion

Pindar’s and Bacchylides’ victory odes (as well as the other – unfortunately fragmentary – production of these poets, which we have not had space to review here) take their place, together with the remnants of Epicharmus’ Dorian comedy and Aeschylus’ *Persians* and fragmentary *Women of Aetna*, in the multifarious world of Syracusan performance culture in the early fifth century. They are the most polished, and, to some extent, best preserved, portion of a body of work that will have been much more extensive and that ranged from *aischrologia* to festival paeans. They participate, as we have seen, in a diverse tradition of western song. The mainland poets who

⁶² Wilamowitz (1922) 296 (and others).

⁶³ So Trumpf (1958); Dougherty (1993) 94; Pfeijffer (2005) 16–20, 38.

came to Sicily at this time were not the first to do so, but their presence does mark a Deinomenid intensification of cultural interaction with the mainland. The Deinomenids and their tyrannical predecessors and coevals in the west had always been keen to stress their participation and community in the world of panhellenic athletics. After 480 the scope of their ambition and self-advertisement on the panhellenic front becomes broader and more systematic. Their cultural policies were, also, unsurprisingly, two-faced – designed to make a statement both abroad and at home. The story is too long to tell here, but its results mark a watershed, a moment when three great traditions, lyric, tragedy, and comedy, share a space and stake their claims.

3 | Challenging authority

Epicharmus between epic and rhetoric

ANDREAS WILLI

Introduction

For the literary historian, archaic and classical Sicily largely remains a *terra incognita*. The fragments of Stesichorus of Himera's lyric compositions, the snippets from the eccentric Empedocles of Acragas' works on the nature of the universe and man's place in it, the two extant showpiece speeches by Gorgias of Leontinoi, or the rare lines and words surviving from the mimes of Sophron are just enough to prove how much of value has disappeared.¹ The greatest loss, however, may be that of the dramatic works of a writer who, in the eyes of later generations, embodied Sicilian literature more than anyone else: Epicharmus.² Born probably in the 540s or 530s BC, Epicharmus was active during the reigns of Gelon and Hieron, first perhaps in Megara Hyblaia, later certainly in Syracuse.³ When he died in the middle of the fifth century, at the age of at least 90, he left not less than forty or fifty plays which, in the edition prepared by Apollodorus of Athens in the second century BC, filled ten entire books.⁴ Of this output, not more

¹ After the brief remarks by Rostagni (1957), a first attempt to analyse and contextualise the remains of these authors in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the literature, culture, and history of ideas of Greek Sicily has been made in Willi (2008); the present contribution on Epicharmus by and large follows some of the themes and arguments in that study (especially, though not exclusively, chapter 6).

² This will at least partly explain the number and diversity of Pseudo-Epicharmian writings that circulated in antiquity; cf. Epich. test. 9 (= Diog. Laert. 8.78: φυσιολογεῖ, γνωμολογεῖ, ἱατρολογεῖ 'he talks about nature, general principles, and medical topics') and the tradition of Epicharmus as a 'wise man' (Epich. test. 10 and 16 = Diog. Laert. 1.42 and Ael. VH 2.34). The inauthenticity of many of these texts was already established in antiquity (cf. esp. Athen. 14.648d, after Aristoxenus fr. 45 Wehrli, Philochorus *FGrH* 328f79, and Apollodorus *FGrH* 244f226), but disputes continue about the authorship of the so-called fragments *ex Alcimo* ([Epich.] fr. 275–9): these are regarded as genuine for instance by Gigante (1953) 166–72, Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 247–55, Berk (1964) 88–93, Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1996), and Álvarez Salas (2007), as false by Covotti (1930) and Kerkhof (2001) 65–78; cf. Willi (2008) 121–4, with further literature.

³ Cf. especially Epich. test. 1 (= Suda ε 2766, s.v. Ἐπίχαρμος), 4 (= Arist. *Poet.* 1448a30–4), and 6 (= Anon. *De com.* [Proleg. *De com.* III] 15–16, p. 8 Koster), and the discussion in Willi (2008) 119–21.

⁴ Cf. Epich. test. 9 (= Diog. Laert. 8.78 and [Lucian.] *Macr.* 25) on Epicharmus' age, Epich. test. 34 (= Apollodorus *FGrH* 244T18) on Apollodorus' edition.

than some 240 fragments, most of them very short, have come down to us.⁵

To study these fragments is interesting for various reasons. One of them has little to do with literature and culture, at least at first sight. In the almost complete absence of epigraphic material from archaic and classical Syracuse, the Epicharmian fragments constitute our most precious source for the reconstruction of the local Doric dialect of the city. It goes without saying that one has to be very careful in using them for this purpose as they might include ‘literary’ or parodic elements which have nothing to do with ‘real-life’ fifth-century Syracusan.⁶ However, the fragments display a large enough number of linguistic features which are in line with our expectations for a Corinthian colony located in Sicily and which do not appear to be particularly literary to warrant the conclusion that the basic layer of Epicharmus’ comic language was indeed common or everyday Syracusan.⁷ To cite but a few examples which will help in reading some of the fragments quoted below, relevant items are for instance verbal forms such as a first person plural καλέομεν (~ Attic καλοῦμεν ‘we call’), the aorist participle ἐνθών (~ Att. ἐλθών ‘coming’), or athematic infinitives in -μεῖν (e.g. εἶμεῖν ‘to be’ ~ Att. εἶναι), pronominal forms such as genitive ἐμεῦς/ἐμοῦς and dative ἐμίν (~ Att. ἐμοῦ and ἐμοί), and local and temporal adverbs in -ει, such as τεῖδε ‘here’. Moreover, while all of these have parallels elsewhere in Doric-speaking parts of the Greek world, there are also certain elements which are, as far as we can tell, typically Sicilian:⁸ these include on the one hand occasional peculiarities of phonology, morphology and word formation – such as the metathesis in the pronoun ψε for σφε, perfect forms with present endings like δεδοίκα for δέδοικα ‘I am afraid’, or the abundant use of verbs in -άζω (e.g. ἀκροάζομαι for ἀκροόομαι ‘to listen’) – and on the

⁵ The standard edition, used throughout this article, is now Kassel and Austin (2001); this includes the Pseudo-Epicharmian fragments as well as excellent brief annotations and thus supersedes Kaibel (1899) and Olivieri (1946).

⁶ On Epicharmus’ response to the literary culture of his time see most recently Willi (2008) esp. 163–8 and 176–7, as well as Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (this volume).

⁷ For a comprehensive description and analysis of Epicharmus’ dialect see Willi (2008) 125–46, where full lists of attestations and references are given for each feature and where the question of coexisting variant forms (e.g. infinitives in -μεῖν and -μεν) is discussed. In the standard dialect handbooks, Syracusan – like other ‘colonial’ dialects – is normally treated together with the dialect of its metropolis (see esp. Thumb and Kieckers (1932) 128–34, with a separate section on Epicharmus and Sophron on pp. 210–17; but cf. also Sicca (1924)).

⁸ Cf. Willi (2008) 139–46; on Sicilian ψε = σφε see especially Apoll. Dysc. *Pron.* p. 101.2 Schneider, on δεδοίκα Hdn. περὶ ἀκλίτων ῥημάτων, p. 30.1 Hilgard (= Epich. fr. 188), on productive -άζω Heraclides *apud* Eust. in *Od.* 10.190, on νόμος Pollux 9.79 (with Laroche (1949) 234–8), on κύβιτον Ruf. Eph. *Part. Corp.* 79, p. 143.10–11 Daremberg-Ruelle (with Cassio (2002) 68–9, Willi (2008) 30).

other lexical items such as the noun νόμος used for a piece of money (Epich. fr. 134) or the verb κυβιτίζω which is glossed as ποίειν τῷ ἄγκωνι ‘to push with the elbow’ (Epich. fr. 220), hence derived from κύβιτον ‘elbow’, and thus ultimately related to Lat. *cubitus* ‘elbow’ (κύβιτον probably being a Sicilian Greek loan from the local Italic language Sikel spoken in eastern Sicily). So, the linguistic evidence alone already encourages us to try and situate Epicharmus’ work in its distinctive ‘colonial’ or ‘Western’ Greek context, without yielding to the temptation of looking at it merely from the more familiar metropolitan perspective.

Meanwhile, to regard the Epicharmian fragments as nothing more than a dialectologist’s quarry would of course be highly inadequate. It is true that a large number of them have been preserved by ancient grammarians and lexicographers precisely because of their linguistic interest; and disappointingly little can be made of another substantial group of fragments whose survival is due to Athenaeus, which name various kinds of fishes and other food, often in the form of extensive and not very exciting lists. Thus, the modern reader and critic has to perform a certain amount of philological hard work in order to understand how Epicharmus could become known and admired well beyond Sicily by the fourth century at the latest,⁹ as references in both Plato and Aristotle suggest. In Plato’s *Theaetetus* (152e = Epich. test. 3) Epicharmus is called the ἄκρος κωμωδίας, the ‘originator of comedy’, a counterpart to Homer as the ἄκρος τραγωδίας, and Aristotle famously names Epicharmus (alongside the more obscure Phormis) when he specifies in the *Poetics* (1449b5–7 = Epich. test. 5) that Sicilian comedy initiated the tradition of staging coherent plots, μῦθοι. To rediscover and reconstruct these plots, to trace the echoes, allusions, and lines of influence, is no doubt the principal task of the modern scholar who wants to appreciate Epicharmus’ place in the history of literature. How difficult a task it can be, and how much we are tapping in the dark, will become abundantly clear from the two case studies presented on the following pages.

Epicharmus on the ‘augmenting discourse’

In his treatise *On those whom the Divinity punishes with delay* (περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βραδέως τιμωρουμένων) Plutarch vaguely alludes to an

⁹ Epicharmian influence already on Athenian Old Comedy has been detected by von Salis (1905) and more recently Cassio (1985) 39–43, and Kerkhof (2001) 133–43, but denied by Zielinski (1885) 243, Wüst (1950), and François (1978) 52–8.

Epicharmian play whose title is not given and cannot be guessed (Plut. *Mor.* 559b = Epich. fr. 136):

ταῦτά γε τοῖς Ἐπιχαρμείοις ἔοικεν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ αὐξόμενος ἀνέφνυτο τοῖς σοφισταῖς λόγος, ὁ γὰρ λαβὼν πάλαι τὸ χρέος νῦν οὐκ ὀφείλει, γεγονώς ἕτερος, ὃ τε κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐχθὲς ἀκλητος ἦκει τήμερον· ἄλλος γὰρ ἐστί.

This resembles the scene in Epicharmus whence the sophists have drawn the so-called ‘Augmenting Discourse’ (αὐξόμενος λόγος). The one who had long been indebted is now no longer the debtor because he has become another person, and the one who was invited for dinner yesterday comes uninvited today: for he is another person.

Without further help it would be impossible to gain much insight into Epicharmus’ work from this remark. Fortunately, however, an anonymous papyrus commentary on Plato’s *Theaetetus* clarifies things considerably, despite its own lacunose text in which not every detail can be established with certainty (Anon. in *Pl. Tht.* col. 71.12–40 = Epich. fr. 136). The following version is the one printed in the edition by G. Bastiniani and D. N. Sedley,¹⁰ with a translation added:

Ἐπίχαρμος, ὁ[μιλή]σας τοῖς Πυθα[γορείοις,] ἄλλα τ[έ] τινα εὔ[φρο]ν[η] [ἐδίδασκεν] δ[ρά]ματ[α, καὶ τὸ περὶ τ]οῦ αὐξομ[ένου, ὃ] λ[όγ]ωι ἐφοδ[ικῶι καὶ πισ]τ[ῶι] ἐ[π]έρρα[νε. οὐ μὴν] ἀλλ’ ὥς ἄ[φοδοι γίνον]ται πρόσθ[οι τε ἐναρ]γ[ές, εἰ οὐχ] [ἐστὼς τις] γί[νε]ται μ[εῖζων ἢ ἐ]λ[άττω]ν· ἐ[ἰ δὲ τοῦτο,] οὐσίαι ἀλλ[οτε ἀλλαι] γίνον[ται διὰ τὴν συν]εχ[ῆ] ρύσιν. κα[ὶ] ἐκ[ωμώδησεν] αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπαιτουμένου συμβολὰς καὶ [ἀ]ρνούμενου τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι διὰ τὸ τὰ μὲν προσγεγενησθαι, τὰ δὲ ἀπεληλυθέναι, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀπαιτῶν ἐτ[ύ]πτησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγκαλεῖτο, πάλιν κ[αὶ] κείνον [φά]σκοντος [ἄλλ]ο μ[ε]ν[ε]ν εἶ[ναι] τὸν τ[ε]τυπτηκότα, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν ἐγκαλούμε[ν]ον.

Epicharmus, who had frequented the Pythagoreans, successfully staged many other plays and also the one about the ‘Augmenting Discourse’ (αὐξόμενος λόγος) which he concluded with a methodical and convincing point. However, it is manifest that there are subtractions and additions if one who stands fast does not become bigger or smaller. But if this is the case, the substances are ever-changing because of the uninterrupted flux. He made a comic scene out of this with someone who claims back a loan and another who says that the money no longer belongs to the same person because something has been added and something else taken away; then, when the creditor has beaten him and has been taken into court because of that, he too replies in such a way and says that the one who has beaten is one thing and the one who has been taken to court another.

¹⁰ Bastianini and Sedley (1995) 458 and 460, followed in Kassel and Austin (2001) 101.

With these hints we are able to reconstruct an outline of Epicharmus' play:

- 1 A lends money to B.
- 2 When the repayment is due, A claims his money back.
- 3 Debtor B denies that A has the right of claiming the money back because things keep changing; therefore the present A is no longer the same person as the past A who lent the money.¹¹
- 4 Understandably A gets angry and beats B.
- 5 B takes A to court for violence.
- 6 In court, A defeats B with B's own weapons: he argues that the past A, who beat B, is not identical with the present A, the defendant.

Scholars have long identified this as a comic distortion of the philosopher Heraclitus' idea that all things are in flux and keep changing. However, the relationship between Epicharmus and Heraclitus may be more complex than has been recognised so far. In Epicharmus the doctrine of continuous change is applied to rhetorical practice, but this does not follow directly from Heraclitus' thought. At best it could be Epicharmus' invention.¹² Yet, Epicharmus' point would be far wittier if it were not just based on a transfer which he came up with ad hoc; for if Epicharmus had been the first to look at the rhetorical potential of Heraclitus' doctrine of change, the scene would not comically unmask a false premise. In contrast, if someone *before* Epicharmus had already thought of exploring the practical implications of Heraclitus' theory, Epicharmus' contribution would be a comic *reductio ad absurdum*. At least to judge from the mechanisms of Attic comedy, this second possibility is more plausible: in *Clouds*, for example, Socrates perverts the grammatical theories of Protagoras, but Aristophanes does not invent them *ex nihilo*.

Now, the *Theaetetus* commentary informs us, apparently without any reason, that Epicharmus had frequented the Pythagoreans (ὁμιλήσας τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις).¹³ It is possible that this 'superfluous' remark contains the key to the entire scene. We know that Heraclitus despised Pythagoras, even though the two thinkers shared some ideas, such as those concerning the

¹¹ Although Anon. in *Pl. Thet.* col. 71.29–33, in contrast with Plut. *Mor.* 559b, at first seems to imply that the money, not the person, changes, the subsequent development shows that the latter change is crucial here too; on this cf. also the fragment *ex Alcimo* [Epich.] fr. 276.11–12 and Kerkhof (2001) 69–70.

¹² Thus Bernays (1853) 287, and, implicitly, Nestle (1942) 123, and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (this volume); only Reinhardt (1916) 119–21, doubts any connection with Heraclitus.

¹³ Epicharmus is repeatedly referred to as a Pythagorean in later tradition: cf. Epich. test. 9 (= Diog. Laert. 8.78), 11 (= Plut. *Num.* 8.9), 12 (= Iambl. *VP* 266), Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 233–5, and Kerkhof (2001) 62.

existence of an invisible ‘universal harmony’, ἁρμονίη, or the reversibility of death.¹⁴ Heraclitus criticised Pythagoras for πολυμαθίη, empty learning without critical intelligence (Heraclit. fr. 22B129), and, more importantly in our context, he attacked him as the κοπίδων ἄρχηγός. A scholion on Euripides explains this insult (Schol. Eur. *Hec.* 131, with Timaeus *FGrH* 566F132 on Heraclit. fr. 22B81):¹⁵

κοπίδας τὰς λόγων τέχνας ἔλεγον ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Τίμαιος οὕτως γράφων· “ὥστε καὶ φαίνεσθαι μὴ τὸν Πυθαγόραν εὐρετὴν ὄντα τῶν ἀληθινῶν κοπίδων μηδὲ τὸν ὑφ’ Ἡρακλείτου κατηγορούμενον, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἡράκλειτον εἶναι τὸν ἀλαζονευόμενον.”

The rhetorical handbooks (λόγων τέχναι) were called κοπίδες, ‘knives’, by others and also by Timaeus who writes: ‘Thus, clearly not Pythagoras is the inventor of κοπίδες properly speaking – even though he was insulted as such by Heraclitus –, but Heraclitus himself is the one who makes false pretensions.’

It is unlikely that Heraclitus really spoke of rhetorical τέχναι when he called Pythagoras ‘head of the κοπίδες’. Presumably he rather qualified him as the inventor of ‘professional bla-bla’. In fact, later sources tell us that Pythagoras was a gifted rhetorician, with a particular proficiency in adapting the form and content of his speeches to the specific audience he was addressing: when he was speaking to women, for instance, he would not do it in the same way as when he was addressing children or young adults.¹⁶ Thus, the ideal Pythagorean speaker had to be able to take on different roles or *personae* depending on the occasion – and this, in turn, is most similar to the premise underlying Epicharmus’ scene. There too the humour results from the – abusively instrumentalised – notion that the speaker’s *persona* is subject to a change which modifies the communicative relationship with the addressee. Essentially, this is just an extreme (and perverted) form of the doctrine of the καιρός or ‘right moment’, which originated in early Pythagoreanism: Pythagoras had asserted that there cannot be a δίκαιον, a ‘just thing’, unless an action is adapted to the person whom it affects.¹⁷ Later

¹⁴ See Riedweg (2002) 150–1, on Heraclit. fr. 22B36, 22B54, 22B62, and 22B88; cf. also Kahn (1979) 126–30, and Hussey (1999) 101–5, on Heraclitus’ doctrine of the soul.

¹⁵ On the reference of this fragment to Pythagoras see Reinhardt (1928) 107–9, and Kahn (1979) 114.

¹⁶ Nicomachus *FGrH* 1063F1 (= Porph. *VP* 20), Dicaearch. fr. 33 Wehrli (= Porph. *VP* 18), Iambl. *VP* 30 and 166, Schol. Iambl. *VP* p. 150.10–11 Deubner; cf. Rostagni (1922), de Vogel (1966) 218–31, Riedweg (2002) 26–32.

¹⁷ See de Vogel (1966) 119, on Iambl. *VP* 179–82, and cf. Rostagni (1922) 160–8, and Detienne (1962) 20–3, as well as Arist. *Metaph.* 985b23–32, according to whom the Pythagoreans tried to express the καιρός arithmetically. In other early thinkers the term καιρός also appears (cf.

this same ‘situationism’ was going to be taken up by the earliest teachers of professional rhetoric, the Sicilians Korax and Teisias,¹⁸ and thence to make its way into the rhetorical teachings of Gorgias and his fellow sophists.¹⁹ However, among the sophists – and fuelled by Protagoras’ *homo mensura* principle (Prot. fr. 80B1) – it was eventually going to degenerate into a kind of moral and/or ethical relativism and individualism, which is of course reminiscent of the Epicharmian scene but which was no longer designed for comic effect by its proponents. This is why Plutarch, in the passage quoted above, refers to Epicharmus – or more precisely: the Epicharmian scene of the ἀυξόμενος λόγος – as a precursor of the sophistic movement. What had started off as a comic distortion of Pythagorean situationism turned seriously real a few decades later.

Admittedly, some elements in the reconstruction just presented remain hypothetical. On a general level, though, it is a priori more likely that Epicharmus was influenced by, and made fun of, early Pythagorean rhetoric than that he mused on Heraclitean philosophy. As K. Reinhardt once put it in a different context: How should the Sicilian comedians, let alone their audience, have known or read the Ephesian hermit?²⁰ But even if it were true that Epicharmus targeted Heraclitus, not the Pythagoreans, with his ἀυξόμενος λόγος, and even if we therefore dismissed as irrelevant the remark ὁμιλήσας τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις in the Platonic commentary, one fundamental fact would remain: that Epicharmus’ comedy critically reflected on the potentials and pitfalls of a sophistic rhetoric *avant la lettre*, ultimately siding against the proto-sophist. Although the witty debtor initially wins our sympathy, the balance of justice is soon redressed when the tables are turned. Once again the comparison with Aristophanes’ *Clouds* is telling. By exploring the consequences of an inappropriate use of fashionable rhetorical techniques, Epicharmus’ Syracusan comedy controls and, if necessary,

Pittacus fr. 10.5.1 DK, Bias fr. 10.6.11 and 10.6.17 DK, Hes. *Op.* 694; Trédé (1992) 57–8 and 81–138), but for them it rather means the ‘right measure’ (cf. Solon fr. 10.2.1 DK; Wilson (1980) 178–80) and no connection with interactive situations is established (cf. Tortora (1985) 538–9).

¹⁸ On these figures, neither of whose historicity must be questioned (*pace* Cole (1991) 23–7, and Schiappa (2001) 34–47), see esp. Arist. fr. 137 Rose (from Cic. *Brut.* 46), Arist. *Rh.* 1402a17–20, Arist. *Soph. el.* 183b31, Cic. *De or.* 1.91, Quint. 3.1.8, Schol. Isoc. 13.19, and cf. Willi (2008) 290–3.

¹⁹ On the importance of the καίρος in Gorgias cf. especially Gorg. test. 82a1a (= Philostr. *VS* 1 praef.), Gorg. fr. 82b13 (= Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 12.6), and see further Willi (2008) 284–8.

²⁰ Reinhardt (1916) 121 (‘Wie sollten die sizilischen Komödiendichter oder erst gar ihr Publikum den ephesischen Einsiedler gekannt oder gelesen haben?’), on [Epich.] fr. 276 where the doctrine of human change is significantly connected with Pythagoreanising reflections on odd and even numbers (cf. Rostagni (1924) 65–8, and Falus (1968) 143–4, and on Pythagorean number theory Burkert (1962) 404–14, and Riedweg (2002) 113–16).

restricts intellectual elites in the same way in which Aristophanes' Athenian comedy will do it half a century later.

Odysseus the deserter

While the social functions of Epicharmian and Aristophanic comedy thus appear to be similar, there is another dimension which separates the two poets: the 'colonial' one. In order to show in what sense Epicharmus' drama can also be read as a 'colonial' genre, our second case study will now explore more fully another play: the Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος, 'Odysseus the Deserter'.

The Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος is exceptional in that we here possess one relatively substantial fragment of text (Epich. fr. 97). Its main part, lines 7–17, is preserved on a second-century papyrus from Vienna (*PVindob.* 2321), which was edited by T. Gomperz in 1889. In addition, since 1959 much of the preceding six lines has also been known, for in that year E. Lobel published a fragmentary papyrus commentary on the same play from Oxyrhynchus (*P Oxy.* 2429 = Epich. fr. 98). In *PCG* I, R. Kassel and C. Austin have now made accessible the following compound version of the two pieces, including the more obvious supplements:²¹

(Od.)]κ[.] πλ[άνον] τουτόνη 1
 α[.] ευνοθορωσ οϊόνπερ ἐπι . . . συντυχών
 — — — ρῆιστά κα τοῦτ' ἐργασαίμαν ἢ ὅτι
 ἀλλ' ὁρέω (τί, ῥζύρ', ἀνιῆις), τοίδε τῶιχαιοὶ πέλας
 ὡς ἔω πονηρ(ότ)ατος. (B.) <ἀλλ> ἀλιδίως πονηρὸς <εῖ>. 5
 (Od.) οὐ γὰρ ἐμπα[λίν] χ' ἀνύσαιμ' οὕτως ἀλοιῆσθαι κακόν
 — — — ε]νθὼν τεῖδε θωκησῶ τε καὶ λεξοῦ[. . .]ως
 ῥάιδιν' εἴμειν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς δεξιωτέροις ἐμεῦ[ς].
 (B.) — — — ἐμὴν δοκεῖτε πάγχυ καὶ κατὰ τρόπιν
 καὶ ἔοικ_ότως ἐπεύξασθ', αἶ τις ἐνθυμεῖν γ[α λῆι. 10
 (Od.) — — — γ' ὥφειλον ἐνθ' ἐν ὕπνῳ ἐκλήσ[— —
 — — —]των ἀγαθικῶν κακὰ προτιμάσαι θ[— —
 — — — κίν]δυνον τελέσσαι καὶ κλέος θεῖον λ[αβεῖν
 — — —]ν μολῶν ἐς ἄστν, πάντα δ' εὖ σαφα[νέως
 πυθόμε]νος δίοις τ' Ἀχαιοῖς παιδί τ' Ἀτρεὺς φί[λῳι 15
 ἂψ ἀπαγ]γείλαι τὰ τῆνεί καὶ τὸς ἀσκηθῆς . [

]'. ἴψ[
 — — — — —

²¹ Kassel and Austin (2001) 60, after the first editions by Gomperz (1889) and Lobel (1959) respectively.

(Od.) ‘... this roaming... just as... encountering... I could very easily do this or any other thing, but I see – why are you hurting me, you idiot!? – the Achaeans are close so that I am most unfortunate.’ (B.) ‘Yes, indeed you are a villain!’ (Od.) ‘For I would/should I not return quickly, to be thrashed like this is bad. I will go here and sit down and say that these things are easy even for those who are more able than I am.’ (B.) ‘It seems to me that you have prayed very much in character and as is typical of you, come to think of it!’ (Od.) ‘Would that I had gone where they told me to go... [not] preferred the bad to the good... run the risk and obtained divine glory... going into the city and, discovering everything clearly, reported the things there back to the sublime Achaeans and the dear son of Atreus and, being unharmed myself...’

In view of the state of the text and the difficulties of interpretation involved, the translation just given is only preliminary. In order to understand the composition, we must familiarise ourselves one by one with its elements.

In line 1, mention is made of a πλάνος, a ‘roaming’. Although the Oxyrhynchus commentary preserves only the first two letters of the word itself, the supplement is fairly certain since the lemma is subsequently glossed by the commentator with the synonym πλάνη and with φλυαρία ‘nonsense’ (Epich. fr. 98.28); so πλάνος must have been used metaphorically.

In line 2, someone talks about an encounter (συντυχών), but it is only from line 3 onwards that things become clearer. The speaker says, using the optative, ‘I could very easily do this or any other thing (ἢ ὅτι)’, but then he interrupts himself adding ‘but I see: the Achaeans are close so that I am most unfortunate (πονηρότατος)’. In between there is an exclamation τί, ὦιζὺρ, ἀνιῆις ‘why are you hurting me, you idiot!?’; a parenthetical remark according to the Oxyrhynchus commentator (Epich. fr. 98.32: διὰ μέσου²²). Moreover, the commentary notes that line 5 is a brief rejoinder by a second speaker B whose ironic ‘Yes, indeed you are πονηρός!’ echoes the word πονηρότατος used by A but this time employs it in its pejorative sense ‘you are really a villain!’ Then speaker A resumes again and talks about ‘returning quickly’ (ἐμπαιλὶν ἔ’ ἀνύσαιμι) and about ‘being thrashed’ (ἀλοιῆσθαι).

At this point we have reached the Vienna piece. Thanks to the last line of a marginal scholion preserved on the Vienna papyrus we are able to understand lines 7–8. The words ἐνθὼν τεῖδε θωκησῶ ‘I will go here and sit down’ are paraphrased by the scholiast with πόρρω καθοδοῦμαι ‘I will sit down a little apart’, and what follows is explained with προσποιήσομαι

²² On this technical sense of διὰ μέσου cf. [Hdn.] fig. 31 (p. 120 Hajdú). If διὰ μέσου referred to a brief remark by speaker B rather than a real parenthesis (thus Lobel (1959) 41, Gentili (1961) 335), the meaning of this remark would be utterly obscure.

πάντα διαπεπραχθαι ‘I will pretend²³ to have executed everything.’ In the original text we can therefore read λεξοῦμ’ ὅπως²⁴ ῥαίδιν εἶμιν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς δεξιωτέροις ἐμεῦς ‘I will say that these things are easy even for those who are more able than I am.’ According to the scholion, the last phrase is to be understood as a little joke παρὰ προσδοκίαν, replacing something like ‘for those who are *less* able than I am’ (τοῖς ἑμῶν ἥττωσιν)).

In line 9, actor B is speaking again, ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑποκριτῶν as the Oxyrhynchus papyrus puts it. He addresses someone in the plural (δοκεῖτε): ‘it seems to me that you have prayed²⁵ very much in character and as is typical of you, come to think of it!’ Finally, from line 11 onward, the scene ends with a hypothetical wish introduced by ὥφειλον, ‘would that I had’, followed by a series of infinitives: (1) ἐνθὲν ὅσπερ ἐκελήσ-, probably ἐκελήσαντο, ‘(would that I had) gone where they told me to go’, (2) ἀγαθικῶν κακὰ προτιμάσαι ‘(would that I had) preferred the κακὰ to the ἀγαθικά’, for which we presumably have to insert a negation at the start of the line and read ‘(would that I had) *not* preferred . . .’, (3) κίνδυνον τελέσσαι καὶ κλέος θεῖον λαβεῖν ‘(would that I had) run the risk and obtained divine glory’ going into the city (μολῶν εἰς ἄστυ), and (4) πάντα δ’ εὖ σαφανέως πυθόμενος δίοις τ’ Ἀχαιοῖς παιδί τ’ Ἀτρείος φίλῳ ἅψ ἀπαγγεῖλαι ‘(would that I had) discovered everything clearly and reported it back to the sublime Achaeans and the dear son of Atreus’.

What is to be done with all this? After Gomperz, who had already identified the play – correctly, as we now know thanks to the papyrus commentary (cf. below on Epich. fr. 99) – but who had wrongly ‘interpreted the text as information supplied by Odysseus to the inhabitants of the Troad, and reconstructed it as a semi-philosophical monologue’ with the help of ‘supplements [that] were highly improbable, and were easily demolished by Blass’,²⁶ G. Kaibel was the first to try and reconstruct a coherent plot. Since Kaibel could not yet know the Oxyrhynchus commentary, he set off from the scholiast’s explanation προσποιήσομαι πάντα διαπεπραχθαι

²³ Pace Stanford (1950) 168–9, and Phillips (1959) 60, προσποιήσομαι can hardly mean ‘I will imagine’.

²⁴ Cf. Cassio (2002) 76, citing Kühner and Gerth (1898–1904) 2.357–8, for the construction of ὅπως + accusative with infinitive; but note that the interpretation suggested below could also stand with λεξοῦ[ντι π]ως (thus V. Schmidt *apud* Kassel and Austin (2001) 61; cf. also Webster (1962) 85, Luppe (1975) 195) since Odysseus might envisage the Achaeans’ bored reaction to his story.

²⁵ Or ‘thanked with prayers’: for this special use of ἐπεύχομαι cf. Soph. OC 1024.

²⁶ Cassio (2002) 74, who is referring to Gomperz (1889) 4, and Blass (1889) respectively; the following brief sketch of the interpretive history of the piece is based on the fuller account by Cassio (2002) 74–6.

on the Vienna papyrus. As Gomperz' attribution of the text to Epicharmus' Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος was easily acceptable, given the mention of the Achaeans and the son of Atreus, Kaibel too suggested that the speaker was Odysseus, but he thought of an Odysseus sent to Troy as a spy in order to πάντα πυθέσθαι καὶ ἄψ ἀπαγγεῖλαι; out of fear of the enemy, however, Odysseus would have decided to disobey and would now be preparing a fictitious report.²⁷

With the publication of the Oxyrhynchus find, Kaibel's theory was overturned. The existence of a second actor made the monologue idea impossible. Also, the commentary seems to indicate, at least at first sight, that Odysseus, despite being close to the Achaeans, refuses to return because he dislikes being beaten: οὐ γὰρ ἔμπαλιν χ' ἀνύσαιμ' οὕτως ἀλοιῆσθαι κακόν. Quoting E. W. Handley, A. C. Cassio has recently remarked on this: 'Clearly, Odysseus is no longer the self-confident liar imagined by Kaibel, but . . . "seems to be preparing some kind of cover story for an operation that has gone by no means according to plan"; in his speech there can be no room for triumphant tones.'²⁸

Even so, some points remain puzzling. Cassio admits that lines 9–10 are obscure: 'apparently a different actor (Diomedes?) addressed the (absent) Achaeans as if they were present, probably rehearsing his own part of the cover story they both intended to tell'. At the same time Cassio detects some bitter irony in lines 9–10.²⁹ With this one may agree, but would such irony not be out of place if Odysseus and his companion were preparing a 'cover story'? And if Odysseus has only just had the idea of preparing a 'cover story' in lines 7–8, how can his companion already rehearse his own role in lines 9–10, without any transition? Moreover, how could the following hypothetical wish of Odysseus (lines 11–16) be part of a 'cover story' when it openly acknowledges that the mission has *not* been carried out? In contrast, if we were to abandon the idea of a fictitious report, what should we do about the scholiast's paraphrase: προσποιήσομαι πάντα διαπεπρᾶχθαι? And finally, if lines 11–16 simply express Odysseus' despair, which for some reason is connected with the closeness of the Achaeans in lines 4–5, we have to postulate a major break in the argument: if Odysseus

²⁷ Kaibel (1899) 109; reconstructions along similar lines were subsequently favoured by Körte (1914) 12, Olivieri (1946) 37, Casolari (2003) 49–52, and Olson (2007) 48.

²⁸ Cassio (2002) 76, with a quotation from Handley (1985) 369.

²⁹ Cassio (2002) 77; the identification of the second speaker as Diomedes has precedents in Lobel (1959) 41–2, Gentili (1961) 336, Webster (1962) 87, and Albini (1986) 16–17, but Webster cannot be right when he wants to refer τοῖδε τῶιχαῖοι only to this 'Diomedes'. To understand lines 9–10 as an address to the audience (Olson (2007) 50) does not clarify things.

had found a solution to his problems in lines 7–8, namely the preparation of a ‘cover story’, he should certainly be more confident by now, in line 11.³⁰

Given these difficulties, we have to reconsider the entire issue from scratch. In particular we have to pay attention to six textual details that have been overlooked so far:

- 1 Since τί, ὠϊζύρ, ἀνιῆις ‘why are you hurting me, you idiot!?’ in line 4 is parenthetical, Odysseus’ interlocutor³¹ must be hurting him at this very moment; hence, the two can hardly be companions.
- 2 The same antagonism is indicated by speaker B’s ἀλλ’ ἀλιδίως πονηρός εἶ in line 5. A companion³² (such as Diomedes) would not call Odysseus πονηρός, but an adversary could well do it. This is in line with what R. Kerkhof observes on lines 9–10:³³ there a simple way of understanding the plural δοκεῖτε (implying ‘you and the likes of you’ – whoever they are: perhaps the other Greeks) is to identify speaker B as a Trojan.
- 3 οὕτως ἀλοιῆσθαι κακόν ‘to be beaten like this is bad’ in line 6 is explained by the Oxyrhynchus commentary with κατ’ ἀλήθειαν καὶ μὴ προσποιήτως, ‘for real and not just for show’ (Epich. fr. 98.41). According to Kerkhof, Odysseus would be thinking of a *future* beating that *might* happen if the Greeks discovered that he did not go to Troy.³⁴ However, οὕτως ‘in this way’ more naturally refers to a present beating.³⁵ As we have just seen, speaker B is in fact hurting Odysseus at the moment: note the present ἀνιῆις in line 4. We shall see later why Odysseus compares this present beating with a ‘beating for show’ (προσποιήτως).
- 4 Still in line 6 some punctuation is needed, either before or after οὕτως. The editors of *PCG* I suggest a colon.³⁶ But the particle combination οὐ

³⁰ Gentili (1961) 336–7, and similarly Salomone (1981) 68, suggest that Odysseus might be afraid of returning because he was chased away by the Trojans before being able to bring his mission to an end; but in that case he would not have actively preferred the κακά over the ἀγαθικά (Epich. fr. 97.12).

³¹ The idea ‘dass der Sprecher dies zu sich selbst sagt’ (Kerkhof (2001) 125) is implausible. Both in Epich. fr. 97.4 and in Epich. fr. 98.32–3 the papyri have ἀνιῆς, but a form of ἀνίημι ‘to let off’ (rather than ἀνιάω ‘to hurt’) is metrically impossible.

³² That B is a companion is also assumed by Berk (1964) 149, and Casolari (2003) 49 n. 6; only Luppe (1975) 197, asks in passing whether the speaker is ‘vielleicht sogar ein Troer’.

³³ Kerkhof (2001) 127.

³⁴ Kerkhof (2001) 126; cf. Cassio (2002) 76: ‘Odysseus does not want to go back because he is afraid of being beaten.’

³⁵ It is true that the commentator (Epich. fr. 98.36–42) considers the possibility of taking οὕτως together with ἀνύσαιμ(ι) rather than ἀλοιῆσθαι; but note that, if ἀλοιῆσθαι κακόν referred unambiguously to a future beating, this would be a necessity, not just a possibility.

³⁶ Kassel and Austin (2001) 61; cf. already Lobel (1959) 41, and Austin (1973) 59.

γάρ can also introduce a question.³⁷ Instead of saying ‘I would certainly not go back’, Odysseus would rather say ‘Should I not rather go back? To be beaten like this is bad!’

- 5 Jumping to line 15, what is said there and in the surrounding lines cannot be part of a fictitious report to the Achaeans: for in that case we should find a second person ὑμεῖς instead of a third person Ἀχαιοί. The only possible addressees are either Odysseus himself (in a monologue) or one or several non-Greeks, for instance Trojans.
- 6 Finally, τηνεῖ in line 16 confirms that we are not dealing with the rehearsal of a ‘cover story’. As H. L. Ahrens has observed, the Doric pronoun τῆνος does not exactly correspond to Attic ἐκεῖνος but is used for the near-deixis;³⁸ it is rather the equivalent of Attic ὧδε ‘here, there, before one’s eyes’. So when Odysseus speaks of reporting the things τηνεῖ to the Greeks, he is positioning himself on Trojan ground.

Let us now recapitulate what we know so far. At present Odysseus is being beaten by his interlocutor, who is perhaps a Trojan. The Achaeans are not far away, but this does not reassure him: on the contrary, it makes him most wretched (πονηρότατος). Because of the beating Odysseus wonders whether it would not be better to return as quickly as possible. In lines 7–8 he figures out a solution to his dilemma: he will pretend to have done everything (πάντα διαπεπραῖσθαι). In the following lines, however, his tormentor makes fun of certain prayers made by Odysseus and some other people who *could* be Odysseus’ compatriots. Finally, the superiority of his anonymous interlocutor makes Odysseus formulate a hypothetical wish:³⁹ ‘would that I had never preferred bad actions (κακά) to the actions of a gentleman (ἀγαθικά)!⁴⁰ would that I had done a heroic deed and obtained divine glory!’ Obviously, the heroic deed would have been to go to Troy as a spy, to return to the Greek camp, and to report back to Agamemnon and the Achaeans.

³⁷ See Denniston (1954) 81–5, on ‘progressive γάρ in questions’, and cf. Denniston (1954) 85–6, on elliptical οὐ γάρ.

³⁸ Ahrens (1843) 267, with full discussion; note the Doric equivalent of Att. ἐκεῖνος, i.e. κῆνος, in Epich. fr. 88.2 and [Epich.] fr. 276.6.

³⁹ For the interpretation it is irrelevant whether a gap of four lines is to be posited between lines 10 and 11, as suggested by the marginal scholion on Epich. fr. 97 (cf. Blass (1889) 260, Barigazzi (1955) 125–6).

⁴⁰ On the precise meaning of ἀγαθικά see now Cassio (2002) 81–2, after Gomperz (1889) 8 (‘virtuous conduct’, not ‘comfort’; cf. Phot. s.v. ἀγαθικά = AB 1.324.7 = Suda α 113: ἀγαθικά: τὰ σπουδαῖα). Blass (1889) 261, supplements in lines 11–12 αἶψ’ ἐγὼν] γ’ ὥφειλον ἐνθὲν ὕσπερ ἐκελήσ[αντό με, εἴτα μή τι] τῶν ἀγαθικῶν κακά προτιμάσαι κτλ.

Initially, all of this seems to contradict a well-established *communis opinio*: that Epicharmus based his plot on the episode of the spying mission with which Odysseus is entrusted according to *Iliad* 10⁴¹ and, with some divergences, according to *Odyssey* 4 (lines 242–58) and the *Little Iliad* of the epic cycle. Proclus' summary of the cyclical version informs us that Odysseus beat himself up in order to make his own appearance less heroic and look like a more plausible deserter.⁴² Ever since the nineteenth century⁴³ interpreters have taken it for granted that the Epicharmian title Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος must point to a similar story-line: Odysseus as a spy and *fictitious* deserter. However, there is not the slightest support for such a theory. Any unprejudiced reader should rather conclude from the title as it stands that Odysseus *really* deserted.⁴⁴ Once we accept this, everything suddenly falls into place.

As in *Iliad* 10 the decision of Agamemnon and the Greek commanders to send Odysseus to Troy as a spy must have been the starting point of the plot. Odysseus refers to this decision when he says, in line 11, ὦφειλον ἐνθὲν ὕσπερ ἐκελήσαντό με 'would that I had gone where they told me to go'. Instead of acting accordingly, however, he preferred the action of a coward (ἀγαθικῶν κακὰ προτιμάσαι) and became a deserter: a true αὐτόμολος, not a fictitious one. Presumably Agamemnon had told him to beat himself up in order to execute the mission more convincingly, 'having disfigured himself' (αἰκισιάμενος ἑαυτόν) as Proclus has it in his summary of the *Little Iliad*. Understandably, Odysseus had disliked this idea just as much as the dangerous plan in its entirety, but now that he is being beaten *not* just 'for the sake of appearance', but for real, the Oxyrhynchus commentator appropriately contrasts the word οὕτως in line 6 with an imaginary προσποιήτως ἀλοιῆσθαι.

⁴¹ Cassio (2002) 79, highlights several verbal parallels between Epich. fr. 97.13–16 and *Il.* 10.204–13 (e.g. πάντα πυθόμενος ~ πάντα πύθοιτο, ἄψ ἀπαγγεῖλαι ~ ἄψ ἔλθοι, ἀσκηθῆς ~ ἀσκηθῆς etc.).

⁴² Procl. *Chrest.* 206 Severyns (= *Argumentum Iliadis parvae* 1 PEG, lines 15–17): Ὀδυσσεὺς τε αἰκισιάμενος ἑαυτόν κατὰ σκοπὸς εἰς Ἴλιον παραγίνεται, καὶ ἀναγνωρισθεὶς ὑφ' Ἑλένης περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς πόλεως συντίθεται κτείνας τέ τινας τῶν Τρώων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀφικνεῖται 'Odysseus, after having disfigured himself, comes to Troy as a spy, is recognised by Helen, makes arrangements about the seizure of the city, kills some Trojans, and returns to the ships.' Note that the disguise motive does not feature in the Iliadic version (where Odysseus and Diomedes put on their full armour: *Il.* 10.254–71); cf. Kerkhof (2001) 123–4.

⁴³ See Grysar (1828) 288, and Lorenz (1864) 135, and cf. also Schmidt (1888) 379–80.

⁴⁴ Cf. already Berk (1964) 146, without further explanation, and Barigazzi (1955) 121–9, who suggested that Odysseus had become a swineherd in Troy (cf. below on Epich. fr. 99), but who could not come up with a convincing overall interpretation because, before the publication of Epich. fr. 98, the monologue reading of Epich. fr. 97.7–16 remained unchallenged.

So, at the point of our scene Odysseus has already left the Greeks and deserted to Troy. Unfortunately, though, he has somehow managed to rouse the anger of a certain Trojan who is now beating him. The place of the action must be the plain just in front of Troy (cf. line 16 τὰ τηνεῖ), from where Odysseus can still see how close the Greek camp is (cf. line 4 τοῖδε τώιχαιοι πέλας). He realises that he has made the wrong choice – and he hits upon the idea of returning: ‘Should I not rather go back? To be beaten like this is bad!’ (line 6). To be sure, the Greeks would be upset if he just came back as a repentant deserter. Hence he decides to pretend that during his absence he had done precisely what he had been told to do (*Schol. PVindob.* 2321, line 7: προσποιήσομαι πάντα διαπεπρᾶχθαι). But for the time being, all this is just a dream, whereas the mockery and the stick of his tormentor are painfully real.

Up until now, one crucial point remains open in this new reconstruction. What is to be done about the prayers of Odysseus + X to which the Trojan alludes in lines 9–10? And why is Odysseus being beaten by the Trojan? Fortunately, we may be able to find an answer in another fragment, which is transmitted by Athenaeus (Epich. fr. 99, from Athen. 9.374d–e):

δέλφακά τε τῶν γειτόνων
τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις φυλάσσων δαιμονίως ἀπώλεσα,
οὐχ ἑκὼν· καὶ ταῦτα δὴ με συμβολατεύει,ν μ᾽ ἔφα
τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖσιν προδιδόμειν τ᾽ ὦμνυέ με τὸν δέλφακα

... tending one of the neighbours’ pigs for the Eleusinia I lost it by bad luck, against my will; and so he now said I was making a deal with the Achaeans and he claimed I was selling the pig...

We know that Epich. fr. 99 followed shortly after the end of Epich. fr. 97 because it too is covered by the Oxyrhynchus commentary (Epich. fr. 98).⁴⁵ This lucky coincidence is all the more important since Athenaeus names the title and thus confirms the ascription of Epich. fr. 97 to the Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος. The speaker in the Athenaeus fragment may still be Odysseus who, upon deserting to Troy, appears to have been given the despicable job of a swineherd. After innocently losing one animal Odysseus fails to appease his Trojan employer who develops a conspiracy theory and suspects a deal between his new servant and the latter’s Greek compatriots – hence the beating.⁴⁶ Thus, in the prayer mentioned by the Trojan in Epich.

⁴⁵ Cf. Lobel (1959) 36, Willi (2008) 187 n. 78.

⁴⁶ Possibly one further, though anonymous, fragment of Doric comedy (*Anon. Dor.* 16) also refers to this scene as it mentions a ‘Phrygian’, i.e. Trojan, who ‘will beat you on the neck with

fr. 97.9–10, Odysseus could have been asking the gods to be spared after the disappearance of the pig; but the Trojan must have thought it was a prayer to conclude the transaction with the Achaeen enemy.⁴⁷

By way of conclusion, we may now return to the more general question concerning the character and nature of Epicharmus' comedy. A few observations on the language of the fragments discussed in this section may prove useful here. As elsewhere in Epicharmus (cf. the introduction to this chapter), the basic language is common Syracusan, despite the fact that the words are placed in the mouth of an epic hero. The verb ἀλοιῆσθαι 'to be beaten up/thrashed', for example, is colloquial, and the same is probably true for the emphatic pronominal form τουτόνη in Epich. fr. 97.1 or the adverb δαιμονίως in Epich. fr. 99.2.⁴⁸ Next to these unremarkable features, however, there are also a few epic ones: not only the long dative Ἀχαιοῖσιν instead of Ἀχαιοῖς in Epich. fr. 99.4 or the conjectural ἄψ 'back' in Epich. fr. 97.16, but also and above all the expressions δίοις Ἀχαιοῖς, παιδὶ Ἀτρείος φίλω, and κλέος θεῖον in Epich. fr. 97.15 and 97.13 respectively. As far as we can tell, there is no such epicism before line 13. Moreover all the epic echoes seem forced, laden with irony, as if Odysseus were quoting the 'official' wording of the original mission: 'Would that I had run the risk and obtained "divine glory", reporting back to the "sublime Achaeans" and to the "dear son of Atreus" . . . !' By introducing this type of code-switching, Epicharmus distances the normal discourse of his comedy from the high-flown discourse of epic, and his play becomes doubly subversive: firstly because Odysseus feels, thinks, and acts like an ordinary person, an anti-hero⁴⁹ with whom an average Syracusan will identify more easily than an aristocrat dreaming of a heroic past; and secondly because heroic language is deflated, denounced as empty, pretentious, but ultimately ridiculous. Thus, the tenor of the comedy is not very different from the tenor at the end of Aristophanes' *Peace* where Trygaeus ridicules the epic quotations of Lamachus' son by means of totally unheroic hexameters. For the Athenian Aristophanes this is exceptional, his target usually being tragedy, not epic. But the large number of para-epic titles which are attested for Epicharmus – titles such as Μήδεια, Ὀδυσσεὺς ναυαγός ('Odysseus Shipwrecked'), Πύρρα καὶ Προμαθεὺς, Σειρήνες, or

his wooden stick' (ἡ παῖσει <τυ> βάκτρῳ καλίνῳ κατὰ τὰ σκύτα Φρύξ ἀνήρ); cf. Kaibel (1899) vii.

⁴⁷ That the Trojan may have surprised Odysseus during a prayer is also suggested by Epich. fr. 98.53]η1 εἰσόδῳι εὐξαμένου τινά 'initially praying for something'.

⁴⁸ Cf. Willi (2008) 188–9, where further non-epic elements are indicated.

⁴⁹ The aprioristic denial of an unheroic Odysseus by Stanford (1950) is rightly rejected already by Barigazzi (1955); cf. now also Casolari (2003) 52–4 and 205–7.

Τρῶες – suggests that a comedy like the Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος was anything but unusual in Syracuse sixty years before the time of Aristophanes.⁵⁰

Seen in isolation, this *might* be a fact without further significance, due exclusively to the ‘historical contingencies’ which should always be factored into our reconstructions of the past, as argued by J. M. Hall in the first chapter of this volume. In context, however, I would much rather see here what has above been called the ‘colonial’⁵¹ dimension of Epicharmus. Both the early prominence of a literary iconoclasm directed against Homer as the cultural authority κατ’ ἐξοχήν⁵² and the emergence of comedy as *the* dominant communal genre in early fifth-century Syracuse – i.e. not just as the little sister of tragedy as in Athens – fit exactly the concept of ‘canonical counter-discourse’ which has been developed in modern (post-)colonial literary theory to describe the ‘erosion of transcendent authority’ and the ‘concern with . . . all things parodied, piebald, dual, mimicked, always-already borrowed, and ironically secondhand’ that characterise contemporary (post-)colonial literature.⁵³ And if we notice, moreover, that Epicharmus is not the only ‘Westerner’ who sets out to correct or overwrite Homer, but merely takes up, in yet another generic mode, the subversive theme of Stesichorus’ challenge to Homer and Hesiod in the *Palinode*, of Theagenes of Rhegion’s proto-scientific allegoresis of Homer, or of Xenophanes’ mockery of Homeric theology,⁵⁴ then it becomes difficult to deny in the work of all these men the presence of a conscious ‘active agency’ which is responding to a wish found specifically among colonists of all times and ages: to lay claim to the heritage of the mother-country, but at the same time to free

⁵⁰ On mythical parody in Epicharmus see e.g. Lorenz (1864) 126–43, Pianko (1948), Reinhardt (1996), Kerkhof (2001) 116–29, Casolari (2003) 55–9, and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (this volume).

⁵¹ Despite Hall’s observations, the label ‘colonial’ remains useful; if there were a better one, it could be replaced, but as it is ‘colonization’ may refer quite generally to any process of collective settling in an ethnically (and linguistically!) foreign environment, without necessarily implying an ‘organized, state-sponsored venture’.

⁵² Note especially Xenophanes fr. 21B10 ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ Ὀμηρον μεμαθήκασι πάντες ‘from the start all have been pupils of Homer’, as well as the institution of official Homeric recitations in Syracuse already in the late sixth century (Hippostratus *FGrH* 568F5): cf. Cantarella (1967) 52–3, Loicq-Berger (1967) 73–86.

⁵³ See Boehmer (2005) 237–8, and for the concept of ‘canonical counter-discourse’ Tiffin (1987) 22; cf. further Willi (2008) 326–7.

⁵⁴ On Stesichorus’ ‘epica alternativa’ (Rossi (1983) 11) and his *Palinode* see now the discussion in Willi (2008) 51–118, on Theagenes e.g. Cantarella (1967) 54–62, and Ford (2002) 68–72, and on Xenophanes’ revolutionary monotheism e.g. Leshner (1992) 78–119 (and cf. Willi (2008) 163–6, on the reception of Xenophanes in Epicharmus). Cantarella (1967) 51, pertinently speaks of an ‘atteggiamento di rottura . . . caratteristico della cultura italiota verso Omero’ and further compares the equally Western ‘concezione simbolica degli dèi omerici nei Pitagorici’.

themselves from the weight of that heritage and to oppose it with something new and something of their own.⁵⁵

A Sicilian epilogue

In theory, such a conclusion should be easy to accept: after all, it is firmly anchored both in the close analysis of the textual remains we have *and* in a series of typological observations made in the study of other '(post-)colonial' literatures. In practice, however, the temptation may persist to read Epicharmus from a metropolitan, not a 'colonial', viewpoint. Mainly this is because we know so much more about metropolitan, and in particular Athenian, culture and literature. This is not to say that comparisons with what happens in the mother country should be avoided at all costs or can never be illuminating. In fact, we have seen in both of the above case studies that a familiarity with Aristophanes' comic techniques sometimes helps in guessing how Epicharmus' comedy may have worked. Yet, we must never forget that Sicily and the Greek West were not only geographically, but also culturally a world of their own. So, just as Aeschylus or Sophocles were primary reference points for any Athenian author of the late fifth or early fourth century, Epicharmus must have become such a reference point for later Sicilian authors. To rediscover this local reception of Epicharmus is of course nearly impossible when both the 'recipiend' and the potential 'recipients' remain in the shadow. Nonetheless, we may end this Epicharmian taster with one small sample of the autonomous vitality of this literary world in the west – a sample which allows us at the same time to redress the balance between Epicharmus and rhetoric and to perceive how tightly interwoven are all the themes we have touched upon in this study.

Ironically, the only text in which we may find a direct echo of Epicharmus' Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος is precisely a rhetorical one, written by his fellow-Sicilian Gorgias of Leontinoi, 'the father of those sophists'⁵⁶ whose argumentative tricks were foreshadowed in Epicharmus' version of the αὐξόμενος λόγος. Admittedly it is just a vague echo, but light-hearted vagueness is also exactly what we should expect from a writer like Gorgias. In the

⁵⁵ In fact, the relatively swift canonisation of Homer may owe much to the 'colonial' movement beginning more or less exactly at the time when the Homeric epics came into being; see further Willi (2008) 6–8, also on the 'in-between-ness' of colonial settlers (cf. Young (2001) 19), their double identitarian positioning against the 'native' *and* the 'metropolitan', and their converting the peripheral 'there' into a central 'here' (cf. Boehmer (2005) 203–12).

⁵⁶ Cf. Philostr. VS 1.9.1 (= Gorg. test. 82A1); Willi (2008) 264–305.

Apology of Palamedes (ὑπὲρ Παλαμήδους ἀπολογία), Gorgias' Palamedes has to defend himself against Odysseus, who has accused him of high treason. Addressing the Achaean judges, Palamedes first stresses that he would never have betrayed the Greeks in order to avoid a risk (Gorg. fr. 82B11a.19 κίνδυνον φεύγων), even though, he adds, many others would to it. This remark, however unexpected it may be, might not on its own be sufficient to remind us of Epicharmus' Odysseus who has indeed betrayed his people in order to avoid such a risk (cf. Epich. fr. 97.11–13 ὥφειλον [. . .] κίνδυνον τελέσσαι). But Palamedes continues (Gorg. fr. 82B11a.20–1):

σκέψασθε δὲ καὶ τόδε. πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀβίωτος ἦν ὁ βίος μοι πράξαντι ταῦτα; ποῖ γὰρ τραπέσθαι με χρῆν; πότερον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα; δίκην δώσοντα τοῖς ἡδικημένοις; τίς δ' ἂν ἀπείχετό μου τῶν κακῶς πεπονθότων; ἀλλὰ μένειν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις; παραμελήσαντα πάντων τῶν μεγίστων, ἔστερημένον τῆς καλλίστης τιμῆς, ἐν αἰσχίστηι δυσκλείαι διάγοντα, τοὺς ἐν τῷ παροίχομένῳ βίῳ πόνους ἐπ' ἄρετῇ πεποννημένους ἀπορρίψαντα; καὶ ταῦτα δι' ἑμαυτόν, ὅπερ αἰσχιστον ἀνδρί, δυστυχεῖν δι' αὐτόν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις πιστῶς ἂν διεκείμην· πῶς γὰρ, οἵτινες ἀπιστότατον ἔργον συνηπίσαντό μοι πεποιηκότι, τοὺς φίλους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παραδεδωκότι;

Take into account also the following: If I had done these things, how would my life not have been intolerable? Where could I have gone? To Greece? In order to be punished by those whom I had wronged? Who of those who had suffered from it would have spared me? Or should I have remained among the barbarians? Without caring for the highest goods, completely dishonoured, having a despicable reputation, sacrificing all these efforts to be noble which I had made throughout my life until now? And all of this by my own fault, which is the most shameful thing for a man: to be unfortunate out of one's own fault! I would not even have enjoyed the trust of the barbarians as they would have known well that I had done the most perfidious thing; betrayed my friends to the enemy.

Palamedes' reflections exactly mirror those of Epicharmus' Odysseus: only that the latter really faces the difficulty of not being able to return after a betrayal, he has really lost his honour, he is really unfortunate out of his own fault, and he is really treated without respect by the barbarians. Later on, Palamedes even adds, as if taking up Epicharmus' ὥφειλον [μή] ἀγαθικῶν κακὰ προτιμάσαι (Epich. fr. 97.11–12): οὐ δὴπου προσήκει τοὺς γε φρονούντας ἐξαμαρτάνειν τὰς μεγίστας ἀμαρτίας καὶ μᾶλλον αἰρεῖσθαι κακὰ πρὸ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν 'surely, intelligent people must not make the biggest mistakes and prefer bad things over good ones that are present' (Gorg. fr. 82B11a.26). And finally, the whole speech is crowned with a veiled counter-accusation (Gorg. fr. 82B11a.27):

ἀντικατηγορήσαι δέ σου πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ παλαιὰ καὶ νέα πρᾶσσοντος
δυνάμενος οὐ βούλομαι· (βούλομαι γάρ) οὐ τοῖς σοῖς κακοῖς ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
ἀποφεύγειν τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην.

I do not want to make accusations against you in turn, even though I could do it
as you have committed grave misdeeds both some time ago and recently . . . ; for I
want to be acquitted here not because of your wrongdoings, but because of my own
good actions.

Gorgias, or Palamedes, does not spell out what Odysseus' 'recent mis-
deeds' before Troy have been. Thanks to Epicharmus a Sicilian audience at
least would have known, as we now do. And thanks to Epicharmus they
would also have been able to fully appreciate Palamedes' skill in making the
weaker position stronger, τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν – for Epicharmus
had introduced them to the tricks of 'sophistic' rhetoric before Aristophanes
or Plato were even born.

4 | On Epicharmus' literary and philosophical background

LUCÍA RODRÍGUEZ-NORIEGA GUILLÉN

The purpose of this chapter is to examine, as far as our data allow, the literary traditions Epicharmus inherited,¹ and the cultural atmosphere of contemporary Syracuse. In this city, he wrote most, if not all, of his works, first during the reigns of Gelon (491–478 BC) and Hieron (478–466 BC), and afterwards in the initial decades of the democracy.² It is clear that there must be a complicity between a successful comedy writer and his public, based not only on shared experiences or ideology, but also on a common cultural background. In Epicharmus' case, we will trace this complicity through analysis of the subjects of his plays and also of the parodies³ included in them. In fact, we can presume that Epicharmus' audience, or at least a part of it, could identify, each time, the parodied text, genre or style, for otherwise the comic effect would have been missed. It is true that some parodies might be directed only to a few, but in general, as we shall see, those found in Epicharmus must have been easy to recognize. On the other hand, the reader must be warned that this study is conditioned by the fragmentary state of both Epicharmus' plays and many of the works that may have inspired him. In addition, an important part of Epicharmus' cultural background rested on oral traditions, so that some of his sources of inspiration escape our notice for lack of data, just as there are others that we can only surmise or that are debatable.

Epicharmus and the mythological tradition

Many of Epicharmus' plays consisted of burlesque versions of stories about gods and heroes, taken both from Greek epic in general and from certain

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¹ On the other hand, I have excluded almost everything that has to do with the pre-literary origins of comedy and, of course, with Epicharmus' influence upon the development of Attic Comedy. On this subject, see the discussion and bibliography in Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1996) xviii–xix, Cassio (1985) and Kerkhof (2001) 133–50.

² On Epicharmus' life, see Lorenz (1864) 41–98; Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 230–9; Berk (1964) 3–10; Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1996) ix–xiii; Kerkhof (2001) 55–9.

³ For a first approach to the subject, see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1994b).

Dorian and Sicilian traditions. These inherited traditions and stories were an excellent source of well-known themes and characters which Epicharmus' ingenuity could humorously alter to create new scenes and plots. On the other hand, the artificial language of epic poetry was specially suited to parody. As far as epic poetry is concerned, the targets most evident to us are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, for in these cases we have an original text with which to compare Epicharmus' parodies. It is also logical that Epicharmus found inspiration in Homer, who was already important in the education and culture of contemporary Greeks, as Xenophanes fr. 21B 10 DK makes clear. According to one tradition,⁴ the first recorded recitation of Homer at Syracuse took place in the sixty-ninth Olympiad (504–500 BC), and was performed by Cynaethus of Chios, a poet whom some authors relate to the diffusion of the Homeric poems in their most developed (and closest to the modern) version in Sicily and southern Italy.⁵ But several of Epicharmus' plays were concerned with legends which are only incidentally mentioned by Homer or do not appear in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* at all. In these cases, Epicharmus' sources may have been the Cyclic Epic in some form,⁶ but there are also themes taken from Dorian and Sicilian folklore, which he could access directly, or else through poets like Stesichorus of Himera (seventh to sixth centuries) and Ibycus of Rhegium (sixth century). With these two authors Epicharmus shares not only the bond with Sicily or the Greek West, but also the mixture of common epic themes with Dorian and Sicilian (or at least with a western setting) ones, and it would not be surprising if they had an influence on him, similar to that of Stesichorus on the Attic tragedians.⁷

Parodies of epic poetry in Epicharmus had already been pointed out in antiquity,⁸ as is attested by Athenaeus in 15.698 C, citing the twelfth book of Polemon's treatise *Address to Timaeus* (fr. 45 Preller). No specific quotation of Epicharmus is given at this point by Athenaeus, but he does offer texts of other authors, all of whom use hexameters and epic language for trivial themes. This is in fact the technical sense of the word *παρωδία*

⁴ Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.1c. The scholia cite the historian Hippostratus (*FGH* 568 F 5), apparent author of a *Chronology of Sicily*, perhaps of the third century BC.

⁵ On the very complex problem of when the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reached their more or less "final" version, see the interesting book by Signes Codoñer (2004), who discusses all the preceding bibliography.

⁶ On the doubts as to the attribution of dates and names to the Cyclic poets as appear in the Greek tradition, see Murray (1934) 339–45 and Signes Codoñer (2004) 193–6, with bibliography. The data about the different authors and poems are well covered in Huxley (1969).

⁷ On Stesichorus and Ibycus, see Morgan, this volume.

⁸ On this subject see also Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1994b) 387–8, Cassio (2002) 70–80, Willi (2008) 176–7.

from Aristotle onwards.⁹ Among the fragments of Epicharmus there is only one sure instance of hexameter, in fr. *121 (194 Rodríguez-Noriega [R-N]), from *Sirens*, λαοὶ τοξοχίτωνες, ἀκούετε Σειρηνάων ‘bow-shirted men, listen to the Sirens!’, where the characteristic of using elevated language for a trivial theme does not seem to occur, but where we do find the comic τοξοχίτωνες (‘bow-shirted’) instead of the expected χαλκοχίτωνες (‘bronze-shirted’);¹⁰ on the other hand, the fragment is not a quotation of any known Homeric line, but there are some similar ones, like, for instance, *Od.* 12.52. Epicharmus fr. 224 (296 R-N), γυναικάνδρεσσι ποθεινοί, ‘longed for by women-men’ (from an unidentified play) was also probably part of a hexameter; noteworthy in it is the *hapax* γυναικάνηρ (‘woman-man’), in all likelihood coined by Epicharmus. A third possible hexameter is in fr. 113.415 (170.24 R-N), from *Prometheus or Pyrrha*, ἀφρ]άτωρ ἀθέμ[ιστος ἀ]νίστιος ‘without brotherhood, lawless, homeless’, this time a literal quotation of *Il.* 9.63,¹¹ but adapted to the Doric dialect. The comic context must have made the parody clear to the audience every time, even if we cannot quite appreciate it now.

In addition to parody marked by epic metre, there are other parodic combinations of elevated style and trivial theme. From this contrast stems the humour of the passages, as happens with the adjective πετεηνός (‘winged’) applied to hens in fr. 150 (221 R-N),¹² or with the parody of alternative human and divine names for the same object which can be found in fr. 40.9–11 (41.9–11 R-N).¹³ The same cliché is also found in Pindar (fr. 33c.4–6 Snell-Maehler), but Homer is Epicharmus’ most obvious target, the *Iliad* being the work which provides by far the most examples (see *Il.* 1.402–4, 2.811–14, 14.289–91, 20.73–4), and presumably also the most popular. In this passage the humour arises from the fact that the character who speaks, plainly a god, applies the Homeric expression to some humble

⁹ See Arist. *Poet.* 1448a12–13. On the concept of parody in antiquity, see Householder (1944) and Beltrametti (1994).

¹⁰ The term, however, has been considered corrupt by some authors from Ahrens (1843) 229 onwards. In Ahrens’ opinion, the original word may have been χαλκοχίτωνες, changed into τοξοχίτωνες by a copyist who still bore in mind the form τοξοφόρων, mentioned a little earlier in the source of the fragment.

¹¹ The same line was later parodied also by Aristophanes (*Pax* 1097).

¹² The word is used for eagles and other birds which, unlike hens, are good at flying by both Homer (*Il.* 2.459, 8.247, 15.238, 690, 17.675, 21.253, 22.139, 24.315; *Od.* 13.87, 16.218) and Hesiod (*Op.* 277 and fr. 336 M.-W.).

¹³ Θάτερα δὲ γαῖαι κόγχοι τε κάμαθίτιδες, / ταὶ κακοδόκιμοί τε κηῦνοι, τὰς ἀνδροφυκτίδας / πάντες ἀνθρώποι καλέονθ’, ἀμὲς δὲ λεύκας τοὶ θεοί, ‘And other shells both of land and sand, those held in poor esteem and cheap, which all men call “fugitives-from-men” but we gods call “white”’.

sea-shells served in a banquet; also noteworthy is the contrast between the divine name λεῦκαι, which is common Greek, and the human name ἀνδροφυκτίδες ('fugitives-from-men'), a *hapax* probably coined by Epicharmus, in which an erotic double-entendre can be suspected.¹⁴ There are other fragments which imitate epic language in a mock-solemn tone, where the now missing context would no doubt have made the parody clear; this is the case of fr. 128 (201 R-N),¹⁵ which can be compared with several passages from the *Iliad* (14.292–3, 352, 15.152, 16.233), and also of fr. 237 (316 R-N),¹⁶ which parodies an expression found five times in Homer (*Il.* 17.514, 20.435; *Od.* 1.267, 400; 16.129). But the longest passage in which a parody of Homer can be seen is that of fr. 97.7–17 (98 I R-N), from *Odysseus Deserter*, where Lobel (1959) identified a series of coincidences with Nestor's speech in the *Iliad* 10.204–13, which are also well studied in Cassio (2002) 73–80. For the possible plot of the play, based on the humorous distortion of some Homeric episodes, with a new reconstruction, see Willi (2008) 177–88 and also Chapter 3 in this volume.

As for the titles of Epicharmus' plays that are related to traditional heroes and myths, it is notable that only some have a Homeric theme. Epicharmus seems to have found inspiration in Odysseus, who, besides giving his name to *Odysseus Deserter* and *Odysseus Shipwrecked*, was presumably a main character in *Sirens* and *Cyclops*, and might have played a part in *Antenor* (if it dealt with Antenor's mediation during Odysseus' and Menelaus' peace errand to Troy in *Il.* 7.347–53). It is, on the other hand, very likely that Epicharmus was also inspired by other traditions of Odysseus independent of Homer.¹⁷ Other plays related to the Trojan war were *Trojans*, of unknown plot, and *Philoctetes*, which probably dealt with the episode in which the Greeks came to fetch the hero from Lemnos, as a condition for the taking of Troy. This story does not appear in Homer, but was told in other traditional poems (see, for instance, *Il. Parv.*, arg. 1 Bern.), and also inspired Pindar's *Pythian* 1.50–5 (470 BC), where Hieron is compared with Philoctetes, and Aeschylus' lost homonymous tragedy.

¹⁴ This suspicion is supported by other words used throughout the passage, such as βάλανος (here 'goose barnacle'), which may allude to the male member, and κτένιον ('scallop') and ὄστρεον ('oyster'), used for the female organs; see Henderson (1991) 119 and 132, n. 130.

¹⁵ (From *The Trojans*) †Ζεὺς ἄναξ, ἀν' Ἴδᾳ ναίων Γαργάρε' ἀγάννιφα (ἀν' Ἴδᾳ scripsi ['ex his liquido claret Gargara cacumen Idae montis appellitari' Macrobius post Epich. fr.]: ANAΑΑΔΑΝ codd.) '† Zeus lord, you who on Ida dwell, on snowy Gargarus!'

¹⁶ Ἐν πέντε κριτῶν γούνασι κείται (κριτῶν codd.: κριτῶν PCG post Ahrens), 'It lies on the knees of five judges.'

¹⁷ On the western traditions of Odysseus, see Phillips (1953); on the comic Odysseus, see also Phillips (1959).

Epicharmus also wrote several plays dealing with Heracles, who, like Odysseus, had a personality which made him a very suitable comic character and a legend partially located in the western Mediterranean. This hero was the main character in *Heracles and the Girdle* and *Heracles with Pholus*, and there are several titles which must have been humorous versions of different episodes of his legend, like *Alcyoneus*, *Busiris* – where Heracles' voracious appetite was derided – *Dexamenos*, and *The Marriage of Hebe*¹⁸ and its revised form, *Muses*, where the seven Muses are called after seven great rivers,¹⁹ and appear as the daughters of Πιέρως, 'Fat', and Πιμπληϊς 'Fill' (see fr. 39 [38 R-N]), names humorously inspired in two traditional designations of the Muses, Πιέριδες 'of Pieria', and Πιμπληϊδες 'of Pimpleia' (a place in Pieria).²⁰ For these plays Epicharmus may have drawn inspiration from some of the many traditional epic poems which dealt with the adventures of Heracles; for instance, our sources mention a *Heraclea* by Pisander of Camirus (seemingly from the mid seventh century), which possibly included Heracles' encounter with the centaur Pholus (see fr. 9 Bern.), and Cinaethon of Lacedaemon is also sometimes credited with a *Heraclea*, but both the authorship and the date of the poem are doubtful. Anyway, it seems probable that Epicharmus' main sources of inspiration as far as Heracles is concerned were some Dorian and Sicilian stories, which he may have taken directly from the folklore of the island, but also perhaps from Stesichorus, who dealt with them very often in his poems, and Ibycus, who also wrote on the same themes. For instance, Heracles' encounter with Pholus is also found in one of Stesichorus' fragments (fr. S19 Davies, from the *Geryoneis*), where Heracles' fondness for wine is emphasised, a topic Epicharmus in all likelihood also exploited as a comic resource. Also, it is likely that *Heracles and the Girdle*²¹ treated the story of the theft of the girdle of Oeolyca, daughter of the Cyclops Briareus, which was set in Sicily, and had been sung by Ibycus (fr. 299 Davies). Heracles' struggle with the giant Alcyoneus was also known to Pindar (*Isthm.* 6.31–5, 480 BC),²² and may have been mentioned in Stesichorus' *Geryoneid*, given that the episode took place when Heracles was crossing the isthmus of Corinth on his way back with Gerion's cows, but we do not know which version of the myth Epicharmus followed. The same can be said of the *Busiris*, a king of

¹⁸ The first mention of Heracles' and Hebe's marriage is in *Od.* 11.603. It is also mentioned by Pindar (*Nem.* 1.70f. and 10.18; and *Isthm.* 4.79).

¹⁹ See *RE* xvi 1 (1933) 689 (H. Krees).

²⁰ See Sapph. fr. 103.5 Voigt; Bacchyl. 19.3, 19.35 Snell-Maehler; Pind. *Ol.* 10.96 etc.

²¹ On this play, see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1994a).

²² Alcyoneus is also mentioned in Pindar *Nem.* 4.27.

Egypt whose first known mention in Greek literature is in Epicharmus. The *Dexamenos* might have dealt with a version of the story similar to the one which is found in Bacchylides (fr. 44 Snell-Maehler = Schol. *Od.* φ 295), but we cannot confirm it either. However, all those episodes must have been very popular among the Sicilians.

As for the two plays dealing with the Argonauts, that is, *Amycus* and *Medea*, they rested on a very old tradition, alluded to in the *Odyssey* (12.69–70) and the *Theogony* (992–1052), and later taken up again, among other poems, in the *Corinthiaca*, attributed to Eumelus of Corinth (eighth century), the *Argonautica*, attributed to Epimenides of Crete (seventh century), and the *Funeral Games for Pelias*, by Stesichorus.²³ The theme of Jason is also found in Pindar *Pythian* 4, and also inspired some lost plays of Aeschylus.

Epicharmus also composed at least three plays on a Dionysiac theme: *Bacchants*, *Dionysoi* and *Komasts* or *Hephaestus*, which may have been inspired by several folk traditions, perhaps in part linked to the origins of theatre. For instance, on the basis of Epicharmus' fr. 16, where there is a pun based on the double meaning of the word ἄρχος: 'chief' and 'bottom', Olivieri (1946) 14 pointed out that perhaps in Epicharmus' *Bacchants* Pentheus appeared disguised as a woman by means of grotesque padding which endowed him with big buttocks; this has suggested a connection with the padded dancers who danced in honour of Dionysus and are often mentioned among the ancestors of Greek theatre.²⁴ As for the *Komasts* or *Hephaestus*, its subject, Dionysus' intervention in the rescue of Hera, imprisoned by Hephaestus on a golden throne for having cast him out of Heaven, seems to have been very popular in all Greece at that time, for it is frequently depicted on pots of the sixth and fifth centuries, and is found, among others, in Alcaeus (fr. 349 Voigt) and Pindar (fr. 283 Snell-Maehler). We do not know if the *Bacchants* had any sort of relationship with Aeschylus' lost tragedy, or with any play of the same trilogy.

If the *Atalantas* had to do with the heroine Atalanta, then its subject may have been related to her taking part in the hunt of the Calydonian boar, or in the funerary games in honour of Pelias. Both subjects were rooted in very ancient traditions, already known to Homer, and had previously been treated by Stesichorus in the *Boar Hunters* and the *Funeral Games for Pelias*; Aeschylus also wrote a lost tragedy entitled *Atalanta*. Besides, if the theme of Epicharmus' comedy Δίκτυες was similar to that of Aeschylus' satyric drama Δικτυολκοί (*Netfishers*), it may have dealt with Danae's and Perseus'

²³ In this work Stesichorus linked Jason and Medea with the foundation of Corinth.

²⁴ See Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 171 and (1968) 222–3. On padded dancers and western Greek comic vases, see Green and Dearden, this volume.

rescue by Dictis, perhaps transformed into a netfisher; this was again a myth with a long tradition.

Another interesting case is that of *Prometheus* or *Pyrrha*, whose subject was a comic version of the Greek myth of the Flood. It has been suggested²⁵ that this comedy implied knowledge of some of the plays of Aeschylus which had Prometheus as their main character,²⁶ for in fr. 113.241–53 (148 R-N) somebody speaks of the impossibility of taking a hot bath, or cooking, without fire, and this seems to imply the idea of Prometheus as the inventor of the arts, which is thought to be due to Aeschylus. Also notable is the play on the words λαοί ‘people’ and λίθες ‘stones’ made by Epicharmus exploiting the story of how Deucalion and Pyrrha repopulated the Earth by casting stones over their shoulders, from which people sprang;²⁷ a similar pareymology is also found in Pindar,²⁸ whose scholia transmit Epicharmus’ fragment. It is uncertain if Epicharmus imitated (or parodied) Pindar, but the similarity is significant.

Another of Epicharmus’ plays was entitled *Sciron*, and it must have dealt with the story of the brigand defeated by Theseus. Up to Epicharmus’ times, the only known literary mention of Sciron is in a dithyramb by Bacchylides (fr. 18.25 Snell-Maehler), which is the earliest known Greek poem dealing with the labours of Theseus, and the only extant instance of a dithyramb written in a dramatic form. Epicharmus may have known this dithyramb, but certainly also other traditional sources of the myth.

Finally, if, as we may suppose, *The Sphinx* dealt with Oedipus’ encounter with the monster, Epicharmus’ source of inspiration might have been some traditional epic poem. Stesichorus also mentioned Oedipus in his *Eriphyle*, but it is unknown if he used this episode in particular, and Aeschylus also wrote a satyric drama entitled *The Sphinx*, belonging to a trilogy about Oedipus produced in 468 BC, but we do not know if Epicharmus’ play was somehow related to it. On the other hand, Epicharmus fr. 147 (218 R-N),²⁹

²⁵ Thus Webster (1962) 267–8.

²⁶ Which were at least two tragedies (one of them, *Prometheus Bound*, perhaps produced in 469 BC) and a satyric drama. On this subject, see Radt (1985) 302–30.

²⁷ Epich. fr. 120 (193 R-N) = Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9, 70 b [A], Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 70 c [BCEDEQ], ‘Epicharmus says that people (λαοί) are thus called after the stones (λίθες).’

²⁸ *Ol.* 9.43–6 (466 BC) ‘Pyrrha and Deucalion came down from Parnassus / and made their first home, and without a marriage-bed / they founded a stone offspring (λίθινον γόνον) / of the same race, / and they were called people (λαοί).’

²⁹ (A) –τί δὲ τόδ’ ἐστί; (B) –δὴ λαδὴ τρίπους. (A) –τί μὲν ἔχει πόδας / τέτορας; οὐκ ἐστὶν τρίπους, ἀλλ’ (ἐστὶν) οἶμαι τετράπους. / (B) –ἐστὶ δ’ ὄνομα αὐτῷ τρίπους, τέτορας γὰρ μὲν ἔχει πόδας. / (A) –Οἱδῖπους τοῖνον ποτ’ ἦς, αἰνιγμά τοι νοεῖς [εἰ δῖπους τοῖνον ποτ’ ἦς, αἰνιγμάτ’ Οἱδῖπου] νοεῖς PCG]. ‘(A) –And what is this? (B) –A tripod, of course. (A)– Then, why has it four / legs? It isn’t a tripod, but rather, I think, a ‘tetrapod.’ / (B) –Well, it is called

from an unidentified play, shows that he and obviously also his public were acquainted with the riddle of the Sphinx, a theme which originated in folk tale,³⁰ and did not get into the legend before the sixth century; whether the riddle was also mentioned in any of Aeschylus' plays is debated.³¹

It is also worth considering another fragment that alludes to a traditional myth in a way that may indicate a parody of Pindar *Ol.* 1.36–42 (476 BC).³² In this poem, dedicated to Hieron of Syracuse, Pindar deliberately changes the traditional story of Pelops, in which Pelops' body was cooked and served to the gods by his father, Tantalus, in a banquet. Instead of this, in Pindar's version, Pelops is carried off by Poseidon and brought to Zeus' palace. Now, in Epicharmus fr. 76 (85 R-N), from the play *Logos and Logina*, somebody speaks of a feast given by Zeus in Pelops' honour, and this seems to point rather to Pindar's version than to the traditional one. Epicharmus' humorous intention is confirmed by Pelops' status as guest of honour, rather than as what is served up for dinner, and also by the pun on the word ἑρπνος ('feast'), a rare term which up to Epicharmus' times is only found twice in Homer (*Od.* 1.226 and 11.415) and three times in Pindar (*Ol.* 1.38, *Pyth.* 5.77 and 12.14).³³

Regarding the myths dealt with by Epicharmus, it is also to be noted that in fr. 135 (278 R-N), from an unidentified play, the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus is mentioned together with the fight against the Titans, and the name of Pallas is said to be derived from a giant Pallas, out of whose skin Athena had made herself a cloak. The story of the birth of Athena is found in Hesiod (*Theog.* 886f.), and, once more, also in Pindar (*Ol.* 7.35f., 464 BC), but even though Pallas is mentioned by Hesiod as a Titan in *Theog.* 376 and 383, in his version of the Titanomachia nothing is said of Pallas having been killed by Athena. Epicharmus might have followed another epic poem, or he might even have invented the story himself, suggesting a comic etymology for the name of Pallas. Apart from that, we must add that Epicharmus fr. 228 (300 R-N) ἐνθα δέος, ἐνταῦθα καὶ δῶς 'where there is fear, there is also respect', seems to contain a parody of the *Cypria*, fr.

'tripod', though certainly it has four legs. / (A) –Yes, and once there was an Oedipus; surely you know his riddle.'

³⁰ According to Kock (1961) 21, n. 69. ³¹ Radt (1985) 288, with bibliography.

³² This parallel was pointed out by Arnson Svarlien (1990–1).

³³ Another point of contact between Pindar and Epicharmus is the personification of Peace in Epicharmus fr. 100 (110 R-N), which was hitherto only found in Pindar (*Ol.* 4.16; *Pyth.* 8.1 and fr. 109.2 Snell-Maehler); also, if Epicharmus fr. *251 (*321 R-N) is genuine, it may contain an echo of Pindar *Isthm.* 5.16. There are further mentions of Epicharmus in Pindar's scholia (Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.99 = Epich. fr. 96 (95 R-N), and Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 2.127 = Epich. fr. 92 (39 R-N)), but they do not allow us to establish any intertextual relationship between both authors.

18.2 Bern., ἵνα γὰρ δέος, ἔνθα καὶ αἰδώς ‘because where there is fear, there is also respect’. Other poets like Pindar, Bacchylides and the tragedians are said often to have drawn inspiration from the *Cypria*, so perhaps this was also the case with Epicharmus.

Influence of epic and lyric language on Epicharmus

Leaving aside the thematic aspects, and focusing for a moment on linguistics,³⁴ the fragments of Epicharmus present many instances of long compound epithets which are characteristic of both epic and lyric style. Epicharmus resorts to the same procedures as Homer and the lyric poets to coin these adjectives,³⁵ which are full of a pomposity which makes their parodic character evident³⁶ – so for instance τοξοχίτων (‘bow-shirted’) in fr. *121 (194 R-N) – and which often imply a comic contrast in the context where they appear. This is the case of ἐκτραπελόγαστρος (a hake) ‘with a turning-from-the-common paunch’ (fr. 60), ἐρυθροποίκιλος (a sea-bream) ‘spotted with red’ (fr. 162 = 25 and 69 R-N); μακρογόγγυλος (a razor shell) ‘long and rounded’ (fr. 40.7 = 41.7 R-N), μακροκαμπυλεύχην (a heron) ‘with long bending neck’ (fr. 85.1 = 72.1 R-N), μεγαλοχάσμων (a comber [a fish]) ‘wide-gaping’ (fr. 60), ὀπισθόκεντρος (a sting-ray) ‘with a sting in the tail’ (fr. 59 = 58 R-N), τραχυδέρμων (an angel fish) ‘rough-skinned’ (fr. 52 = 49.2 R-N), and φιλοκονίμων (a crested lark) ‘fond of rolling in the dust’ (fr. 42.2 = 71.2 R-N), most of which come from the *Marriage of Hebe*.

The influence of the epic and also perhaps lyric language on Epicharmus can also be seen in the forms of the potential particle. In fact, Epicharmus, like other Dorian poets, does not only use the Doric form κα /ka:/, but also often κ’ or χ’ (for the complete list of examples see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén [1996] 234–5), seemingly with an anomalous elision of a long /a:/. But, as Molinos Tejada (1992) has pointed out, this may be the elision of the Aeolic form κε, used when metrically convenient; this is also the reason for

³⁴ On Epicharmus’ language in general, see Ahrens (1843), Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1996) xix–xxix, Cassio (2002) and Willi (2008) 125–61.

³⁵ See, for instance, ἀκερσεκόμης ‘with unshorn hair’ (Hom., Pind.); ἑλαχυνπτέρυξ ‘short-finned’ (Pind.); καρχαρόδους ‘with saw-like jagged teeth’ (Hom., Hes., Bacchyl.); λιπαροπλόκαμος ‘with glossy locks’ (Hom., Pind.); μελανόζυξ ‘black-benched’ (Aesch.); ποικιλόνωτος ‘with back of various hues’ (Pind., Aesch.); τανυπτέρυξ ‘long-winged’ (Hom., –πτέρυγος Simon.); χρυσοκόμης ‘golden-haired’ (Hes., Bacchyl, Pind., Simon.), etc.

³⁶ See also Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1992) 109–13, (1996) xxiv–xxv.

Epicharmus' use of the particle *čv*, which is found twice in his fragments,³⁷ and which he must have taken from epic or lyric poetry.

Epicharmus and Aeschylus

Aeschylus has already been mentioned several times for his thematic parallels with Epicharmus, and for being perhaps a source of inspiration to him. Epicharmus, like the Sicilian public in general, must have come into contact with Aeschylus as a result of the latter's trips to Sicily.³⁸ To what has previously been said we may add that nothing in the two remaining fragments of Epicharmus' *Persians* tells us whether the play had any relationship with Aeschylus' tragedy, even though it is significant that the tragedy was produced in Syracuse during Aeschylus' visit at the invitation of Hieron.³⁹ On the other hand, we do know that in one of his comedies Epicharmus (fr. 221 [293 R-N] = A. test. 115 Radt) made fun of Aeschylus' frequent use of the verb *τιμολφέω*. In fact, four of the five instances of the verb known up to Epicharmus' times are found in Aeschylus and in plays which belong to the *Oresteia* (*Eum.* 15, 626 and 807, and *Ag.* 922); the other example is in Pindar *Nem.* 9.54. It is of course possible that Aeschylus also made use of the verb in some of his lost tragedies, but in general it has been supposed that Epicharmus had the *Oresteia* as his target, because his fragment has been transmitted in the Schol. A. *Eu.* 626. The *Oresteia* was first produced in Athens in 458 BC; therefore, if those were the plays which Epicharmus had in mind, he could only have known them when Aeschylus returned to Sicily to set up in Gela, which he did soon after his victory with the *Oresteia*.⁴⁰ The same can be said if the expression *ἀπαγγ' εἰς φθόρον* 'to destruction with you' in Epicharmus fr. 154 (225 R-N) is a parody of the words *ἴτ' ἐς φθόρον*

³⁷ Epicharmus frs. 115 (190 R-N) and 129 (202.2 R-N), both from an unidentified play (although the first one is ascribed by Kassel and Austin to *Pyrrha* and *Prometheus*).

³⁸ On Aeschylus' trips to Sicily and the cultural ambience of the island at that time, see Herington (1967), and Chapters 1, 2, 5 and 6 in this volume.

³⁹ It is even possible that *Persians* was written for a first performance in Syracuse, as Boshier (this volume) argues.

⁴⁰ By 458 BC Hieron had been dead for several years, and most Sicilian cities enjoyed democratic regimes. Aeschylus, in fact, did not settle that time in Syracuse, but in Gela. The question is, then, how did Epicharmus become acquainted with these plays. Did Aeschylus put one or more copies into circulation among Sicilian cultivated circles? Or was this trilogy also produced in the island after Aeschylus' arrival, so that it was not only known to an elite, but also to the general public? If these fragments really contain parodies of the *Oresteia*, I believe that the latter option is the most plausible, and it matches well with the idea of Aeschylus enjoying well-deserved fame among Sicilians towards the end of his life.

said by Cassandra at the peak of her despair in Ag. 1267, from the same trilogy, as Berk (1964) 138–9 has proposed. In the context of the comic fragment, the expression somehow seems excessive, which may point to a parodic intent.⁴¹ Apart from that, tragedy may have had some influence upon Epicharmus' use of some metres.⁴²

Epicharmus and the iambic poets Aristoxenus and Ananius

More can be said about Epicharmus' literary background. There are at least two iambic poets mentioned by Epicharmus, who clearly had some influence on him. One of them is the Sicilian Aristoxenus of Selinus, in the seventh or sixth centuries. Epicharmus' own words, together with what can be inferred from those of the metrist Hephaestion, who quotes Epicharmus together with Aristoxenus' only extant fragment,⁴³ support the idea that he may have served Epicharmus as an example in the application of certain metres,⁴⁴ especially the anapaestic catalectic tetrameter, in which two of Epicharmus' plays were entirely composed.⁴⁵ The Sicilian origin of Aristoxenus of Selinus makes it very likely that his poems were known at least to certain sectors of Epicharmus' audience.

The other iambic poet cited by Epicharmus is Ananius, usually dated to the sixth century and considered of Ionian origin. All that remains of his work are nineteen lines, and as Epicharmus quoted at least two of them,

⁴¹ If Epicharmus fr. *280 (*323 R-N) is genuine, the adjective δυσπάλαιστος 'hard to wrestle with' in line 5 may also be a parody of Aeschylus, taking into account that up to Epicharmus' times the only two known instances of this adjective appear in plays by the tragedian (*Supp.* 468 and *Cho.* 692, the latter again a play belonging to the *Oresteia*). Also, in the papyrus commentaries which accompany Epicharmus fr. 97 (98 R-N), the tragic poets are twice mentioned. The papyrus is too badly damaged to get more information from it, but it seems fairly clear that a parody is being commented on, because the scholiast's words are πάλιν πρό(ς) τοὺς τραγικοὺς λέγεται, 'he speaks [or "says something"] again in reference to the tragic poets'.

⁴² Berk (1964) 37–8.

⁴³ Heph. 25.10. 'Also, before Cratinus (the anapaestic catalectic tetrameter is) in Epicharmus, who has even written two plays entirely in this metre, the *Dancers* and the *Victorious Athlete*. Aristoxenus of Selinus was a poet prior to Epicharmus, who himself [Epicharmus] recalls him [Aristoxenus] in *Logos and Logina* (fr. 77 (87 R-N)) "to him the iambi and the † best way, / which Aristoxenus was the first to bring to the stage". And of this Aristoxenus too some things written in this metre are remembered, etc.'

⁴⁴ Berk (1964) 36–8.

⁴⁵ Apart from that, in the papyrus commentaries which accompany Epicharmus fr. 97 (98 R-N), the name 'Aristoxenus' is twice mentioned, but there is no knowing if they refer to Aristoxenus of Selinus or to the fourth century grammarian Aristoxenus of Tarentum, who denounced the spuriousness of some of the *Pseudepicharmeia*.

belonging to different poems, it seems likely that Ananius' influence on him was considerably greater than our data allow us to appreciate. In one case, Ananius' original choliambic tetrameter⁴⁶ is transformed into part of two trochaic tetrameters.⁴⁷ Ananius' line belongs to his so-called 'gastronomic calendar', a poem whose subject fits perfectly into the description of the wedding feast of Epicharmus' *Marriage of Hebe*. In this case Epicharmus' intention does not seem to be parodic; on the contrary, his words rather imply admiration of the iambic poet. The second quotation of Ananius is found in the famous exclamation of Epicharmus fr. 22 (26 R-N) (from *Earth and Sea*), ναὶ μὰ τὰν κράμβαν 'Yes, by the cabbage!', where the original words (Anan. IEG II 4.2 ναὶ μὰ τὴν κράμβην) are accommodated to the Doric dialect.⁴⁸

Epicharmus' philosophical background

Leaving literature to one side, more can be deduced about Epicharmus' cultural background, because his comedies now and then echo some ideas from contemporary philosophy.⁴⁹ However, when tackling this subject we must always bear in mind that Epicharmus was not a philosopher, but a comedy writer interested in exploring and exploiting the comic possibilities of some philosophical ideas that were in general circulation. There is no certainty of Epicharmus' having featured any philosopher on the stage, or of his having mentioned any of them (except perhaps Xenophanes), as some Attic Comedy writers did. Although the gaps in our sources make it impossible for us to confirm, I suspect that Epicharmus' later reputation of being a philosopher arose from the fact that in his plays he sometimes made use of philosophical concepts without mentioning his sources, and gave them a personal touch by using them as a comic device; hence, those ideas came to be 'of Epicharmus'. In the context of a comic play, the parodic or satiric intention must have been evident, and we can assume that at least

⁴⁶ IEG II fr. 5.1 ξαρι μὲν χρόμιος ἄριστος, ἀνθίης δὲ χειμῶνι 'In springtime the *chromius* (*Umbrina cirrhosa* L, a fish) is best, but the *anthias* (*Anthias anthias* L, a fish) in winter.'

⁴⁷ Epich. fr. 51 (47 R-N), from *Marriage of Hebe*, καὶ σκιφίας χρόμις θ', ὅς ἐν τῷ ἤρι κατὰ τὸν Ἀνάσιον / ἰχθύων πάντων ἄριστος, ἀνθίας δὲ χεῖματι 'And the sword-fish and the *chromis*, which according to Ananius is the best of all fish in springtime, but the *anthias* in winter.'

⁴⁸ The expression later was a hit, for it appears in the comic writers Teleclides (fr. 29) and Eupolis (fr. 84.2).

⁴⁹ On Epicharmus' philosophical fragments see Lorenz (1864) 99–125, Nestle (1902) 601–28, Olivieri (1946) 81–92, Gigante (1953), Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 247–55, Berk (1964) 80–101 and Álvarez Salas (2007).

a part of the audience was able to recognise the derided ideas as belonging to contemporary thought, even if they could not assign them to any thinker in particular; nor was Epicharmus' purpose to criticise a specific thinker, or at least not always.

From our point of view, however, a serious problem arises from the fact that in our sources Epicharmus' 'philosophical' fragments are taken out of their original context, and quoted with a serious intention; this makes it difficult to recognise the comic point he was originally making. A further complication is that Epicharmus soon achieved the status of a 'wise man', due to his making use of philosophy in his plays, and also to his fondness for sententious expressions. Thus, after his death several spurious writings on more or less philosophical subjects and generally belonging to the Pythagorean school were ascribed to him; the repercussion of these works was such that Epicharmus' name was recorded for posterity especially as an eponym of different practical branches of knowledge and often as a Pythagorean, and only marginally as the great pioneer of comic theatre. Although thanks mainly to Athenaeus of Naucratis we now know which these spurious writings or *Pseudepicharmeia* were,⁵⁰ and even the real authors of several of them, there are many fragments whose authenticity is debatable, because the title of the work they belonged to is not mentioned in the source, and they show an apparently serious philosophical content.

This is the case of four fragments of Epicharmus (frs. 275–9 (248–51 R-N)), transmitted by Diogenes Laertius in 3.9–16, which are the most useful in tracing possible philosophical influences on Epicharmus.⁵¹ Diogenes took them from the work *Answer to Amintas* (FGrH560 F 6) by a certain Alcimus, who was probably the Sicilian historian of the fourth–third centuries BC.⁵² Those who deny the authenticity of these fragments consider that they were forged by Alcimus himself in order to support his thesis of Plato's alleged intellectual debt to Epicharmus, or else that they belong to the *Pseudepicharmeia*. A thorough study of this problem is not possible in the limited space of these pages,⁵³ but, summing up, I think that, whereas none of the arguments adduced against the authenticity of these fragments

⁵⁰ On the *Pseudepicharmeia* see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1996) xxxiii–xxxvii and Kerkhof (2001) 79–115, both with bibliography.

⁵¹ There are five fragments in the PCG edition, see the commentary on fr. *275–6 PCG = 248 R-N.

⁵² The Amintas the work is addressed to may have been the mathematician Amintas (or Amiclas) of Heraclea, a pupil of Plato's.

⁵³ For the defence of the authenticity of these fragments, see Gigante (1953) 166–72, Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 247–55, Berk (1964) 88–99, Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1996 and 2004: 177–8), Cassio (2002) 57, and Álvarez Salas (2007).

is irrefutable, there are several facts which support it, specifically: (1) that their relation with Plato's thought is in fact fairly far-fetched, which would not be expected if they had been forged ad hoc by Alcimus; (2) that they are written in a dialogue form which does not resemble the dull style of the *Pseudepicharmeia*; (3) that, in contrast to the *Pseudepicharmeia*, there is hardly any element in them recognisable as belonging to later Pythagoreanism, whereas there are several which clearly refer to the ideas of some early Presocratics; and (4) that a parodic purpose is more or less discernible in them.

As can be seen, the ground we are on here is not firm, and the subject lends itself to speculation and disagreement. To make things more complicated, the identification of the sources of Epicharmus' philosophical allusions is greatly hindered by the fact that the remains of contemporary thinkers are even more fragmentary than those of Epicharmus himself; also, very often they are not literal quotations, but only paraphrases and interpretations, more or less well-aimed and not always unbiased, made by later philosophers. In short, in addition to the particular problems of Epicharmus' 'philosophical' fragments, we have to face the lack of good material to compare them with. In what follows I will limit myself, therefore, to the few data which I consider best founded, leaving aside some ideas and proposals which are in my opinion educated guesswork, but whose discussion would lead me astray.

Now then, according to Plutarch *Mor.* 559 B and an anonymous papyrus commentary on Plato (Anon. in *Thet.* col. 71.12–40), the plot of one of Epicharmus' comedies dealt with a man who demanded the repayment of a debt contracted by another character some time before. The debtor got out of paying by saying that he was no longer the same, but had become a different man from the original borrower. Then the creditor got angry, struck his debtor, and was sued by him. Before the court, the aggressor (i.e. the creditor) used the same argument as the claimant (i.e. the debtor), asserting that he was no longer the same man who had struck his opponent. Both sources allude to Epicharmus' use of the *αὐξόμενος λόγος* or 'growing argument' in the plot (according to which, just as a number or measure changes when added to or subtracted from, a person changes when growth or shrinkage occurs). The 'invention' of this argument is attributed to Epicharmus by Plutarch in the aforementioned passage, very likely relying on the treatise *On the Growing Argument* by Chrysippus of Solos.⁵⁴ The theme of the trial and the defence with allegedly rational arguments immediately recalls Korax'

⁵⁴ See Bernays (1853) and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1994c) 667–8.

and Tisias' use of the argument of 'probability' (εἰκός), and the Sicilian origin of rhetoric (see Aristotle fr. 125 Gigon), of which Epicharmus was a first-hand witness, as the many rhetorical expressions found in his comedies demonstrate (sometimes also used parodically⁵⁵). But what I would like to emphasize now is the fact that the fallacious argument adduced first by one character and then by the other rests on the theory of constant change (in fact, the 'growing argument' is used to justify the constant change in people), found in several of the Presocratics, and especially in Heraclitus, and which Epicharmus carries beyond the limit, with the purpose of creating a comic plot: if anything was clear to the audience, it was that those two rogues were still the same as at the beginning. According to our sources, Epicharmus exploited the same idea in another situation, in which somebody refused to receive a man he had invited to dinner the day before, on the grounds that he was no longer the same person. Plato, who must have read the real Epicharmus, certainly had some of these passages in mind when mentioning him, not without some humour, in *Tht.* 152e, among those thinkers and poets who spoke of the theory of continuous change.

Now, the first of the 'Alcimus fragments' presents in its second part⁵⁶ (lines 7–12) an αὐξόμενος λόγος which could well be the argument used by one of the characters to justify that he was no longer the same man, in order to reject a responsibility acquired in the past. The text goes as follows (frs. *275–6 (248 R-N)):

- (A) – ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τοι θεοὶ παρῆσαν χυπέλιπον οὐ πώποκα,
τάδε δ' αἰεὶ πάρεσθ' ὁμοῖα, διὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰεὶ.
(B) – ἀλλὰ λέγεται μὲν Χάος πρᾶτον γενέσθαι τῶν θεῶν.
(A) – πῶς δέ κ'; ἀμήχανον γ' ἀπὸ τίνος μήδ' ἐς ὃ τι πρᾶτον μόλοι.
(B) – οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμολε πρᾶτον οὐδέν; (A) – οὐδὲ μὰ Δία δεῦτερον, 5
τῶνδε γ' ὦν ἀμὲς νῦν ὦδε † λέγω μέλλει τάδ' εἶναι.
αἰ ποτ' ἀριθμὸν τις περισσόν, αἰ δὲ λῆς, ποτ' ἄρτιον
ποτθέμειν λῆ ψᾶφον ἢ καὶ τᾶν ὑπαρχουσᾶν λαβεῖν,
ἢ δοκεῖ κά τοί γ' (ἔθ') ωὐτὸς εἶμεν; (B) – οὐκ ἐμὶν γὰ κα.
(A) – οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' αἰ ποτὶ μέτρον παχυαῖον ποτθέμειν 10
λῆ τις ἔτερον μάκος ἢ τοῦ πρόσθ' ἐόντος ἀποταμῖν,
ἔτι χ' ὑπάρχοι κῆνο τὸ μέτρον; (B) – οὐ γάρ. (A) – ὦδε νῦν ὄρη
καὶ τὸς ἀνθρώπους· ὃ μὲν γὰρ αὖξεθ', ὃ δὲ γὰ μὲν φθίνει,

⁵⁵ For the examples, see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (1994b) 389 and (1996) xxv–xxvi. Once more, this shows that at least part of his audience was familiar with the language of the new Sicilian rhetoric.

⁵⁶ The end of line 6 is corrupt, and between this line and the next one there is an abrupt transition (perhaps some lines are missing). This led Diels, followed by Kassel-Austin, to divide the text into two separate fragments. In the source, however, the text appears as a single fragment.

ἐν μεταλλαγῇ δὲ πάντες ἐντὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον.
 ὁ δὲ μεταλλάσσει κατὰ φύσιν κοῦποκ' ἐν ταύτῳ μένει, 15
 ἕτερον εἶη καὶ τόδ' ἤδη τοῦ παρεξιστακότος.
 καὶ τὸ δὴ κἀγὼ χθὲς ἄλλοι καὶ νῦν ἄλλοι τελέθομεν,
 καὐθις ἄλλοι κοῦποχ' αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὸν [. . .] λόγον.⁵⁷

At the beginning of the fragment, the self-styled philosopher criticises, in a way which recalls Parmenides' proof by *reductio ad absurdum* in fr. 28B 8.6–11 and 19–20 DK, two traditional ideas: a general one, that the gods were born from something; and a more specific one, that Chaos preceded the gods, which is found in Hesiod *Th.* 116. The theory of the speaker is, on the other hand, that of the eternity and immutability of the divinities. This idea's earliest known forerunner is Pherecydes of Syros (sixth century),⁵⁸ but also Xenophanes shares with Epicharmus' pseudo-philosopher the thesis of an unborn and immutable divinity.⁵⁹ The denial of an *ex nihilo* creation was in fact more or less implicit in other Presocratics like Parmenides, quoted above, but most of them searched for an ἀρχή different from the traditional divinities, an idea alien to Epicharmus' passage. Nor does this part of the fragment particularly recall Heraclitus, who spoke of a Cosmos not created by the gods,⁶⁰ and who did not exclude them from the general flux of the universe. In short, the self-styled philosopher began his speech by opposing certain traditional ideas and supporting some more modern ones, but without aiming at any specific philosophical target, at least to the best of my knowledge. Also, in the second part, where the αὐξόμενος λόγος is developed, several expressions recall passages of different thinkers;⁶¹ thus in line 15 κατὰ φύσιν ('by nature') can be compared with Heraclitus fr. 22B 1.8 DK, and ἐν ταύτῳ μένει with Xenophanes fr. 21B 26 DK and Parmenides fr. 28B 8.29 DK; in line 18 the expression κατὰ τὸν λόγον recalls the meaning of the word λόγος in Heraclitus, as a formula or standard of

⁵⁷ '(A) – But the gods were always there and never failed to be, / and these things are always alike and in the same way always. / (B) – However, Chaos is said to have been before the gods. / (A) – And how? Where it could come from or go to would be inconceivable. / (B) – Then did nothing come first? (A) – No, by Zeus, nor second, / at least none of the things of which [we are now talking about. / If you wanted to add a pebble to an odd number, or, if you like, to an even number, / or also to take away one of those there, / do you think that it would stay the same? (B) – No, I don't. / (A) – Nor if you wanted to add to a cubit length / another length, or cut it off from what was there / would the length remain? (B) – Certainly not. (A) – Now look / also at men in the same way. One grows, another withers / and all are changing all the time. / What changes by nature and never remains in the same state, / would be now something different from what has undergone the change. / Also you and I were yesterday different, and today we are different / and tomorrow different, and never the same according to this . . . principle.'

⁵⁸ See fr. 7B 1 DK. ⁵⁹ See Xenoph. fr. 21B 14.1 and 26 DK. ⁶⁰ Cf. Heracl. fr. 22B 30 DK.

⁶¹ Also, line 13 is reminiscent of *Il.* 5.149, see Álvarez Salas (2007) 40–1.

ordering things,⁶² and also line 13 recalls Heraclitus fr. 22B 115 DK. Finally, the reference to odd and even numbers in line 7 might have been taken from contemporary Pythagoreanism. Also, as a part of the parody, Epicharmus made the principal speaker employ some Ionic forms, like παρῆσαν instead of the Doric παρῆν in line 1 (see Cassio [2002] 57), and perhaps ἀμήχανον in line 4.⁶³

In contrast to the previous analysis, Willi (2008) 168–75 and, in an abridged version, Chapter 3 in this volume, considers that the scene described above contained a criticism of Pythagoras and of an alleged contemporary Pythagorean rhetoric, whose existence was defended in particular by Rostagni (1922).⁶⁴ A reliable approach to the doctrines and attainments of early Pythagoreanism is extremely difficult, mainly due to the lack of extensive or authoritative contemporary sources, the often contradictory evidence of the later accounts, greatly dominated by the hagiographical representation of Pythagoras, and the many spurious writings assigned to him. All this makes it almost impossible to formulate a well-founded opinion on these subjects, nor is this the place to indulge in a discussion of this topic, for which see Thesleff (1961) and specially Burkert (1972). Therefore, I will only put forward some reflections which show the difficulties with this proposal. (1) In Pythagoras, the idea of continuous change applied to the human being seems, if anything, to have taken the shape of the theory of reincarnation and cyclic recurrence, with which Epicharmus' passage has nothing to do. In fact, it seems that in early times Pythagoras' fame rested mainly on his ideas about the reincarnation of the soul and religion (and also perhaps on his being a wonder-worker, which may have something to do with Heraclitus' criticism of him in frs. 22B 81 and 129 DK), and this was the image of him which Epicharmus' public most probably had. (2) Even if Pythagoras were himself a good orator, there is no evidence of his or his immediate successors' having taught rhetoric to their pupils, either theoretically or practically (which seems rather anachronistic), nor does this fit in well with the training in remaining silent which is recorded as characteristic of the school (a quality which a relatively early source, Isocrates *Busiris* 28, precisely contrasts with the emphasis on rhetorical training in

⁶² See Heracl. fr. 22B 1.6 DK. γινομένων γὰρ πάντων κατὰ τὸν λόγον τόνδε... 'in fact, although everything happens according to this principle...'; see also Heracl. fr. 22B 31.13 DK εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον.

⁶³ In Doric ἀμάχανον is expected, and this is what some editors write in their texts. Kassel and Austin, following Hermann, emend the original κ' ἀμήχανον to κα μὴ ἔχον, so that the word disappears.

⁶⁴ See also the warier analysis by de Vogel (1966) 218–31.

fourth-century Athenian education), as a way of increasing self-control. It seems undeniable that in Epicharmus' times there existed in Sicily an oratory first political and then, following the setting-up of democracy, also judicial,⁶⁵ the latter having given birth to rhetoric as a discipline, according to Aristotle; also, the argument of probability bears a certain relationship to the Eleatic school.⁶⁶ Furthermore, Epicharmus' own fragments show that the reflection on language was not alien to contemporary Sicilian culture. But it is difficult to accept that in the first decades of the fifth century BC the study of rhetoric flourished among the Pythagoreans in such a way that Epicharmus could base the plot of a comedy on the criticism of their principles. It is also most significant that Aristotle does not mention an early Pythagorean rhetoric when speaking of the Sicilian origins of the discipline. (3) In Epicharmus' play, the characters do not adapt their speech to their addressees (a feature attributed to Pythagoras' way of addressing his public by Iamblicus, schol. ad. *Od.* 1.1, in a passage edited as part of Antisthenes fr. 51 Decl., though the ascription is controversial),⁶⁷ but the comic point is rather, on the contrary, that the same argument is used before different audiences to reject a previously acquired responsibility, so that the fallacy first adduced by the debtor is later used by the creditor, who has taken good note of the lesson, before the court.

Two of the remaining fragments from Alcimus are especially interesting for our purposes.⁶⁸ In the quotation they are separated by a καὶ πάλιν 'and again', so it seems that they may have belonged to the same play, perhaps the *Odysseus Shipwrecked*, because in the first of them someone is speaking to Eumaeus the swineherd, and it may be Odysseus. The first one is fr. *278 (250 R-N):

Εὖμαιε, τὸ σοφὸν ἔστιν οὐ καθ' ἑνὸν μόνον,
ἀλλ' ὅσσα περ ζῆ, πάντα καὶ γινώμαν ἔχει.
καὶ γὰρ τὸ θῆλυ τῶν ἀλεκτοριδῶν γένος,
αἱ λῆς καταμαθεῖν ἀτενὲς οὐ τίκτει τέκνα
ζῶντ', ἀλλ' ἐπώζει καὶ ποιεῖ ψυχὰν ἔχειν.

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⁶⁵ For the evidence of Korax having been active as a political orator before 476 BC see Rabe (1931) section 4.

⁶⁶ López Eire (2002) 183. ⁶⁷ See Declava Caizzi (1966) 107 and Patzer (1970) 180.

⁶⁸ I leave aside the second of the Alcimus fragments (277 (249 R-N)), where the acquisition of the arts is compared with the acquisition of virtue in a lively dialogue between two characters. The parody of the philosophical language is especially evident in the use of καθ' αὐτό 'in itself' in l. 6 (τό μέν / ἀγαθὸν τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἶμεν καθ' αὐτό). In fact, Webster (1962) 253 adduced this syntagm to reject the authenticity of the fragment, alleging that it was a Socratic expression which did not exist in Epicharmus' times. However the same sense can be attributed to the expression in Parmenides fr. 28B 8.29 DK.

τὸ δὲ σοφὸν ἅ φύσις τόδ' οἶδεν ὥς ἔχει
μόνα· πεπαιδευται γὰρ αὐταύτας ὕπο.⁶⁹

In this case we have no clue to guide us as to Epicharmus' point, but we do find several ideas that allude to contemporary thought. Thus, the thesis held in lines 1–2, according to which τὸ σοφόν is in all things, resembles one expressed in a fragment from Heraclitus (22B 108 DK), and there are similar ones in other fragments of the same philosopher.⁷⁰ Also, the personification of Nature in line 6, recalls Heraclitus fr. 22B 123 DK; and the identification of intellect and ψυχή, from which animals are not excluded, seems to occur in Parmenides (see fr. 28A 45 DK), among others.

The other passage is fr. *279 (251 R-N):

θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἄμἐ ταῦθ' οὕτω λέγειν
καὶ ἀνδάνειν αὐτοῖσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ δοκεῖν
καλῶς πεφύκειν· καὶ γὰρ ἅ κύων κυνί
κάλλιστον εἶμεν φαίνεται, καὶ βοῦς βοῖ,
ὄνος δ' ὄνω κάλλιστον, ὅς δέ (θην) ὑί.⁷¹

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Even though in fact the fragment can only vaguely be considered as having a philosophical content, Alcimus quotes it seeking to demonstrate that Plato's idea that all animals have an inborn perception of likeness was already present in Epicharmus. But the truth is that the ideas expressed in the fragment are: (1) like attracts like; and (2) the notion of good or beauty is subjective, for it depends on who judges it. The first idea had already been expressed in the *Odyssey* 17.218,⁷² in some outrageous words addressed by Melanthius, the goatherd at the service of Penelope's suitors, to Eumaeus, when he appears accompanied by Odysseus, who is disguised as a beggar. The line of the *Odyssey* is specifically quoted by Aristotle (*Rh.* 1371b16) to illustrate the idea of the pleasure found in the like. Taking this into account, these might be the words pronounced by somebody against Eumaeus and Odysseus on their arrival at the latter's palace, saying that he was not surprised that a swineherd and a beggar should find pleasure in their mutual company, and comparing them, in a clearly pejorative way,

⁶⁹ 'Eumaeus, wisdom is not in only one thing, / but all that lives has also judgement. / In fact, even the female breed of chickens, / if you want to examine it closely, does not directly bear / living children, but she hatches them and makes them have a soul. / And this wisdom Nature alone knows how she has it, / because she has taught herself.'

⁷⁰ See Heraclit. frs. 22B 32, 41 and 50 DK.

⁷¹ 'No wonder that we say so, / and that they please themselves, and that this seems/ to be fine, since also dog / seems most beautiful to dog, and ox to ox, / and donkey most beautiful to donkey, and pig to pig.'

⁷² 'As always, the god brings like and like together.'

with dogs, oxen, donkeys and pigs (all animals familiar to herdsmen). On the other hand, the passage is reminiscent of a well-known elegy by Xenophanes (fr. 21b 15 DK = 19 Gentili-Prato), where the animals mentioned are somewhat more 'noble', and in which, like in other fragments of his, we find the underlying idea that everyone sees the world in their own image.

We also know through Aristotle *Metaph.* 1010a5 that in some play (fr. 143 = 213 R-N) Epicharmus made a remark about Xenophanes with regard to the difference between the true and the likely, which is usually thought to be related to Xenophanes fr. 21b 35 DK. It has been pointed out that Epicharmus' words may have been that what Xenophanes said was 'neither likely nor true', or else that it was 'true, but not likely'. I for my part think that the latter interpretation has a comic point which the other one lacks, so if this really was the passage to which Epicharmus was referring (which is uncertain), I consider it to be the likelier.⁷³ Anyway, once more we must think that at least part of Epicharmus' audience could appreciate the joke and recognise its target when they heard it in its original context.⁷⁴

Conclusion

Despite their fragmentary state, the remains of Epicharmus' comedies reveal his and his public's rich cultural background, where tradition and modernity, general Greek models and local developments went together. At the same time, in Epicharmus' comedy the parody and the comic approach to literary tradition went hand in hand with the satirical treatment of certain contemporary ideas, which he also put to use for the sake of humour. Throughout this chapter I have focused my attention on the influences from other works and authors which can be traced in Epicharmus, but I would like to finish by reminding us of the originality of his achievements, a subject which I have only tangentially touched on, and which deserves a separate study. In fact, Epicharmus' wit and ingenuity found in contemporary Syracuse the ideal ground to develop a new kind of dramatic form,

⁷³ So also Leshner (1992) 201, n. 16.

⁷⁴ In my opinion, Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on the passage of Aristotle (*in Metaph.* 308.10), where he affirms that Epicharmus 'had said very offensive and insulting things to Xenophanes, by which he brought him into disrepute, ridiculing his lack of knowledge and his ignorance of reality', has no real basis. It rather seems to be a guess based on Aristotle's words and, in any case, I very much doubt that they rested on a real knowledge of the comedy to which the passage alluded to by Aristotle belonged; also, as far as we know personal insult was not among the features of Epicharmus' comedy.

whose purpose, the amusement of the audience, lent itself especially to formal and thematic innovations of the author's own, who was thus able to make something different out of what was already known to his public, in a masterly way which only some time later could Athenian comedy achieve.

5 | Hieron's Aeschylus

KATHRYN BOSHER

In the colorful jumble of invention and half-truths of the *vita Aeschyli*, there are some plausible pieces of information about Aeschylus' life and work. Among the more likely are records that he visited Sicily at least twice, had his play, *Persians*, performed at the court of Hieron of Syracuse,¹ and died in the Sicilian city of Gela.² The records of these travels are supported by additional sources, some more reliable than others.³ Although scholars still disagree about the number and dates of Aeschylus' visits to Sicily, the most vigorous debate now centers on the interpretation of *Persians* in this non-Athenian performance context.

A key topic of discussion is the cultural and historical relevance of the performance of an Athenian play in the Syracuse of the tyrant Hieron. Barbara Kowalzig, for example, argues that the production sheds light on patterns of artistic and economic exchange between Athens and the west, an exchange rooted in the cult and symbolism of Demeter, as goddess of both wheat and of theater.⁴ Oliver Taplin has shown that the production of *Persians* in Syracuse and the panhellenic characteristics of the play itself, taken together with the new fragments of Simonides' poem on the battle of Plataea, are evidence of the entry of the west into a celebration culture of the 470s.⁵ Hall, Rehm and Scodel agree that the reproduction of *Persians* was part of Hieron's effort to connect the Greek defeat

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¹ The verb in the *vita* is ἀναδιδάσκει ("re-performed") and in the scholiast to Aristophanes' *Frogs*, citing Eratosthenes, δεδιδάχθαι ("performed"), on which see more below.

² Cf. Taplin (2007b) 2, "It is certain that Aeschylus visited Sicily." On the performance of *Persians* in Sicily, Taplin (2007) 6, "The re-performance at Syracuse is not, then, a historical certainty, but it is attributed to a serious historian of literature . . . and it is not inherently implausible." Herington (1967) 75, "Two visits to Sicily are certain, if this evidence [see note 3 below] can be taken at face value at all." See contra: Lefkowitz (1981) 71–3, for argument that descriptions of travel to Sicily in the *vita Aeschyli* should be read with other exile stories as stock, fictional features of the lives. For the full text in Greek, see Page (1972) 331–4. For a translation, see Lefkowitz (1981) 157–60.

³ Collected in Herington (1967) 83–5. See also Radt III F 88–92b, pp. 61–2.

⁴ Kowalzig (2008). ⁵ Taplin (2007b).

of the Carthaginians at Himera with the Greek defeat of the Persians at Salamis.⁶

These persuasive studies point to Syracuse's complex investment in the relatively new Athenian genre of tragedy. If we take, as Kowalzig has put it, "social contexts as a hermeneutic framework for the function of drama," it may be worth investigating how influential the framework of Sicily was to the play.⁷ The view of the Greek world from Sicily is a perspective with which Aeschylus, *vir utique Siculus*,⁸ must have been familiar. How deep do the Sicilian, and more specifically, Syracusan, roots of *Persians* go?

In 1852, E. J. Kiehl suggested that Aeschylus' *Persians* was first performed in Syracuse.⁹ More than a century later, C. J. Herington remarked that Kiehl's idea could not be disproven, though Herington did not take it up himself.¹⁰ Recent and dramatic advances in interpretation of the material remains of theater in the west, however, and our ongoing reinterpretation of the vibrant literary and performance culture of the island may have made this a moment to shake the dust off Kiehl's idea and see how well it stands up to contemporary scrutiny. Indeed, when Syracuse is considered as the formative market for the play, some peculiarities of the text as we have it can be explained. Even if Kiehl's idea, updated and re-launched, cannot be proven without doubt, reconsidering his proposal may usefully broaden our study of western Greek theater.

Peculiarities in *Persians*

Among Greek dramas known to us, Aeschylus' *Persians* has more than its fair share of anomalies. First, as is often noted, it is the only extant play about a recent event.¹¹ Two other plays on recent events from the early fifth century, both by Phrynichus, are recorded in the sources: *Sack of Miletus* and *Phoenician Women*, but there are no other certain records of

⁶ Scodel (2001); Hall (1996) 2; Rehm (1989). ⁷ Kowalzig (2008) 131.

⁸ Macrobius 5.19.17; (cf. Schd. Venet. in Ar. *Pax* 73).

⁹ Kiehl (1852) 363–7. Wilamowitz (1897) 395, also proposed that *Persians* was written for Sicily, e.g. "Ich gestehe, dass mir das Gedicht, in dem was es behandelt und was es fortlässt, für Syrakus noch besser zu passen scheint."

¹⁰ Herington (1967) 75–6, n. 10.

¹¹ On history plays, see Garvie (2009) ix–xvi and Hall's useful summary (1989) 7–9. See also Dworacki (1997).

fifth-century contemporary tragedies.¹² In fifth-century Athens, a tragedy on a contemporary theme was a rarity.¹³

Secondly, although the play is about the events of a few years before and seems most biased in celebration of the Athenian contribution to the defeat of the Persians, putting Salamis before all other battles, for example, no Athenian individual is named. In the greatest battle descriptions, as Hall has pointed out, Athenians are described generically as “the Greeks.”¹⁴

Thirdly, although *Persians* was performed as part of a tetralogy in 472, it is difficult to determine whether there were plot, or even thematic, connections between the plays.¹⁵ This problem is exacerbated by the very fragmentary state of the other three plays, and it is possible that, if we had more text, we would be able to discern connections. Nevertheless, it appears that the other three plays were on mythological themes, rather than a recent event as was *Persians*.¹⁶ The trilogy we do have, the *Oresteia*, is coherent, both in plot development and themes, and, as Timothy Gantz argued over thirty years ago, many of Aeschylus' other plays seem to have fit into connected tetralogies.¹⁷ It is perhaps worth noting, therefore, that *Persians*, a play about current events, is tied to mythological plays and that there are no obvious thematic correspondences between all of them.

¹² The *Sack of Miletus*, perhaps performed in the late 490s with Themistocles as choregos, is famous because of Herodotus' story that the Athenians fined Phrynichus for upsetting the audience with the play (Herodotus 6.21). The hypothesis of *Persians* tells us that Aeschylus based *Persians* on Phrynichus' other history play, *Phoenician Women*. Corinthian vase fragments may reflect another historical play about Croesus, the Lydian King, or, as some have argued, Aeschylus' *Persians* itself, see Hall (1989) 65, n. 36. See also Miller (2004) 165–72, for a discussion of the fragments and an argument that details of clothing and weapons (sickles) of the men on the vase suggest that the painter was depicting actual stage costumes rather than painting from “verbal enhancement” in the play's text. Some scholars hold that a tragedy on the Lydian king Gyges dates to the fifth century, but it is usually dated to the fourth century, see Garvie (2009) xi. For further discussion of fourth-century history plays, see Duncan, this volume.

¹³ Cf. Taplin (2007b) 2–3. ¹⁴ Hall (1996) 12; Taplin (2007b) 6.

¹⁵ Said (1981) 38 is of the view that there was not and could not have been a Persian trilogy, because of Aeschylus' concentration on the foibles of Xerxes, which depict him as breaking with the tradition of his ancestors.

¹⁶ Garvie (2009) xl–xlvi. The other plays in the tetralogy are the *Phineus*, *Glaucus Potnieus* and the *Prometheus* (a satyr play). Hall suggests a possible thematic link through prophecy between *Phineus* and *Persians*, since Phineus is a prophet, and Darius, in *Persians*, prophesies. Perhaps, as she notes, Phineus prophesied the Persian wars, or perhaps the link is the Hellespont, since the Argonauts visit Phineus on their way to retrieve the golden fleece stolen by Helle. She and others find it hard to draw connections between *Persians* and *Glaucus Potnieus* or *Prometheus Pyrkaeus*. Hall (1989) 9–11. Contra: Broadhead (1960) iv–ix.

¹⁷ Gantz (1980).

The fourth peculiarity is the scene of the raising of the ghost of Darius. The difficulty is that Darius seems to have appeared from the ground as the chorus sings (623–80) and to have descended under the ground upon his departure (839). How was this staged? Suggestions range from an appearance at the top of the *skene* wall, to a rolling grave on the *ekkuklema*, to the actor dashing into position behind a mound, an altar, or a natural rock outgrowth at the side of the orchestra in Athens.¹⁸ None of these is impossible, but neither does any one of them provide a satisfying method for Darius to suddenly appear from the ground near chorus, wife and grave.¹⁹ It is possible that Darius simply walked on stage and that the audience would not have expected realism, but this is a rather disappointing staging of such an extraordinary and shocking scene. Why bother writing such a dramatic scene, if it cannot be staged effectively? Oliver Taplin suggests that Darius might have come up through what later became known as ‘Charonian Steps,’ an underground passageway tunneled under the orchestra to allow actors to appear suddenly in the center of the stage.²⁰ Taplin suggests that a channel could perhaps have been dug below the orchestra of the theater of Dionysus in the dirt of the orchestra floor. This would presumably have had to be a fairly large covered passageway, so that the actor did not have to crawl in dirt. This is a terrific solution, except that, unlike the Hellenistic theater at Corinth, for example, there does not seem to be evidence for such a passageway in the archaeological remains at Athens.²¹

The fifth anomaly is simply the record that this play was performed in Syracuse. Such notices are rare. In addition to Aeschylus’ play for Hieron, *Aetnaeae*, we only have explicit testimony about Euripides visiting Macedon at the very end of his life and writing a play for the king, *Archelaus*, and a note by a scholiast that Euripides’ *Andromache* was not produced at Athens, but somewhere else.²² As the work of Oliver Taplin, Eric Csapo and many archaeologists is now showing, however, productions outside Athens must

¹⁸ These suggestions made, for example, by Pickard-Cambridge, Webster, Arnott, Wiles, Smethurst, Hammond, Broadhead and Rehm have been briefly surveyed recently by Rosenbloom (2007) 86, 88–9, who supports the appearance behind the *skene*. Contra Taplin (1977) 452–9, who argues there was no *skene* at this period, and notes that even if there were it would be rather large to stand in for a grave (117, n. 1).

¹⁹ Taplin (1977) 116–18, 447–8, discusses these possibilities and shows the problems with them.

²⁰ Taplin (1977) 447–8. ²¹ Stillwell (1952) 40, diagram 34.

²² On Euripides in Macedon, see Revermann (1999–2000) and Polacco (1986). On the scholion testimony that *Andromache* was first performed outside Athens and for a discussion of how the text of the play might have appealed to non-Athenian audiences, see Allan (2000) 149–60.

have been much more common than we have hitherto thought.²³ Certainly deme theaters existed through the fifth century, and it is likely that there were local festivals of drama in many places outside Athens from a very early period.²⁴ What is peculiar about *Persians*, then, is not so much that it was performed outside Athens, but that the ancient sources make enough fuss about it so that we know. The other plays about which we have records of non-Athenian productions in the fifth century (*Archelaus*, *Andromache* and *Aetnaeae*) are reported not as reperformances, but as *first* performances. The interest seems to be that they were written to be performed elsewhere. The record about *Persians* is unique, not so much for the information that the play was performed outside Athens, as for the information that the play was reperformed outside Athens.

The ancient scholarly record about the play's production is still more confused by two lines in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, produced in 405 BC. The character Dionysus remarks that in Aeschylus' *Persians* the death of Darius is reported and that the chorus clap their hands and cry *Iauoi* (1028–9). None of this occurs in the play as we have it. Interpretations of this peculiar description began at least as early as the second century BC, for the scholiast to *Persians* cites Herodotus as suggesting that there were two versions of the play, with the other production including a section on the battle of Plataea.²⁵ The scholiast goes on to say that a production of *Persians* (likely the one with the addition of Plataea, though, as Garvie notes, the Greek is not explicit) was performed at Syracuse.²⁶

Bright Syracuse

Until the last few decades, our interest in literary and performance culture in the west, and even of fifth-century theater outside Athens in general, was limited. The corollary of our collective focus on the culture and art of Athens in the fifth century was disinterest in or disparagement of Greek culture in the western Greek cities. An extreme example of this is expressed in a rather harsh review of M.-P. Loicq-Berger's book, *Syracuse: Histoire*

²³ Revermann (2006) 66–74; Csapo (2004); Taplin (1993a); Plato, *Laches* 182d 83b (for discussion, see Csapo [2004] 70–1). Archaeological discussions of theaters: Marconi (this volume); Vassallo (this volume). More general discussions: Courtois (1989); Mitens (1988); Anti and Polacco (1969).

²⁴ On deme theaters, see Csapo (2004) 57–66; Dearden (1999) 222–6.

²⁵ *TrGF* III F 56, 56a; Garvie (2009) liii–lvii, for a summary of recent arguments about the passage.

²⁶ See Radt III F 56 and 56a, p. 49; Radt III F T 120, p. 83.

culturelle d'une cité grecque (1967). J. M. Cook writes "apart from a historical school of some sort, a taste for farce, and very high standards in the selection of die-engravers, Syracuse had no lasting literary or artistic tradition." He continues, "The lesson seems to be that there are few Greek cities whose cultural history adds up to a book and Syracuse is not one of them."²⁷

In our postcolonial world, we are beginning to value the histories of the 'other,' the displaced and the secondary, and there is perhaps no longer a need to respond to Cook's critique directly. Yet, as the present volume and others in recent years demonstrate,²⁸ literary and cultural developments in the west not only benefit from interpretation within their own historical contexts, but were so rapid and brilliant that they can, in fact, help us understand the larger context of Athenian theater and Greek culture generally. The case of Aeschylus' *Persians* is particularly interesting, for if it was written for this bright new city of Syracuse, it may shed still more light on the literary and cultural framework of the western dramatists and their relation to Athenian contemporaries.

As many scholars have vividly described, fifth-century Syracuse was no cultural backwater, but boasted a wealthy court culture.²⁹ Although the ancient traditions of the visits of great literary figures, and in some cases their very identities, are often suspect, the sheer number of poets and literary figures linked with early Syracuse and Sicily suggests a vibrant literary world. To the court of the Deinomenid tyrants may have come the great literary names of the day: Aeschylus, Epicharmus, Bacchylides, Simonides and perhaps Phrynichus.³⁰ The century before, a period dominated politically by the aristocratic *gamoroi*, had perhaps seen Sappho, Archilochus, Cynaëthos, Stesichorus of Himera and Arion. The eighth-century foundation itself is associated with Corinthian Eumelos, composer of epics. These figures associate epic, dithyramb, choral and monodic lyric, and rhapsodic competition with Syracuse. In conjunction, they suggest a thriving culture of poetry and the performance of literary works in Sicily, and especially in Syracuse, before Aeschylus arrived.³¹

²⁷ Cook (1968) 241. ²⁸ E.g. Willi (2008).

²⁹ All papers in this volume contribute to this picture. For Syracuse particularly, see Morgan, Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, Willi and Dearden in this volume. For an early formulation, see Herington (1967) 74.

³⁰ On Phrynichus in Sicily, see *TrGF* 1 3T6 = Anon. *De com.* [*Proleg. de com.* 111] 1. 32, p. 9 Koster. The death of Phrynichus in Sicily is often assumed from this text (e.g. *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. Phrynichus) but contra: Harvey (2000) 114–15. See also Morgan, this volume. On Aeschylus' relationship with Epicharmus, see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén in this volume.

³¹ See Morgan, this volume.

Aeschylus may have visited the island three times. First, when Hieron was refounding the city of Aetna (476/5) and Aeschylus wrote the play *Aetnaeae* in celebration.³² Second, for the performance of *Persians*, generally assumed to be sometime after the Athenian performance of 472. His third and last visit happened after 458 and on this visit he died in Gela. Evidence for these visits comes from the *Life*, the hypothesis to the play, Plutarch, the Palatine Anthology, Suda, Pausanias, Athenaeus, Marmor Parium, and other sources.³³ Since three seems like rather a lot of visits, some scholars reduce them to two, combining the writing of *Aetnaeae* with the reperformance of *Persians*, and argue that Aeschylus visited first sometime after 472.³⁴ As Kiehl points out, however, this poses a difficulty since it means that Aeschylus wrote the celebratory play *Aetnaeae* some six or seven years, at least, after the founding of the city, although the *vita* records that the production occurred as the city was being founded.³⁵ If, together with Kiehl, we combine the first two visits on the earlier side, that is sometime in 475/4, then Aeschylus could write his *Aetnaeae* and *Persians* together and perform them in Syracuse, before he returned to Athens to present *Persians* at the Dionysia of 472.

A first performance in Syracuse might begin to make better sense of the interest in Aeschylus' production of *Persians* in Sicily in the ancient scholarship. If *Persians* was written for a first performance in Sicily, then that is something worth remarking on. A reproduction is far less interesting, as the ancient scholars' silence on other reproductions suggests.³⁶ Indeed, only the chaotic *vita Aeschyli* calls the production of *Persians* in Syracuse a reproduction (ἀναδιδᾶσαι). This reference is tacked on as the very last sentence of the *vita*, far removed from the earlier extended discussion of Aeschylus' travel to the court of Hieron in Sicily, and it is further watered down by the vague third-person reporting frame: φασὶν ὑπὸ Ίέρωνος ἀξι-ωθέντα ἀναδιδᾶσαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ λίαν εὐδοκιμεῖν.³⁷ In the

³² Cf. Dearden (1999) 230–1, who points out that we have no explicit record that it was Hieron who commissioned the play, but agrees that it is likely that it was, given the subject of the play.

³³ Herington (1967) 82–5 for a summary and catalogue of references to Aeschylus' visits; see also Radt III F 88–92b, pp. 61–2.

³⁴ Herington (1967) 75–6, summarizes and discusses the arguments.

³⁵ Contra: Herington (1967) 76.

³⁶ Cf. for example, Easterling (1994) who argues that Euripides' *Trojan Women*, *Electra* and *Cyclops* may have been written with a reperformance in Sicily in mind. For these we have only the internal evidence of the plays; not a single secondary reference. See also Dearden (1999) 239 on later reproductions. He presents evidence that "touring troupes were not, at this stage [early fourth century], presenting new tragedies recently premiered in Athens, but preferred reworked versions of the great tragedians."

³⁷ They say that being esteemed by Hieron he reproduced *Persians* in Sicily and was very popular.

scholiast's citation from Eratosthenes, who is a more reliable source, the Sicilian performance is simply described as a production (θεδιδόχθαι).³⁸

Likewise, the peculiar staging of the raising of Darius, arguably the heart of Aeschylus' *Persians*, makes better sense in the Syracusan context. Two lines of argument support this: there is evidence that, at some point in its history, the theater of Syracuse contained a suitable stage mechanism for a ghost appearance, and the themes and unconventional format apparent in the surviving fragments of Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* indicate a willingness to experiment with plays developed for this western stage.

Some fragments from ancient writers suggest that early Sicilian stage scenery was adventurous and excessive. The Suda credits one of Epicharmus' contemporaries, Phormis, with inventing "colored skins" which are usually interpreted as painted backdrops to the stage setting.³⁹ The Suda is not reliable evidence for the specific details of the performances of Epicharmus and Phormis' plays, but the passage does suggest a tradition of grand performances at Syracuse. Further support for this tradition can be found in reports about other Doric performances. Aristotle, for example, seems to associate Doric performers with a similar sort of extravagant stage scenery, marked in particular with the excessive use of purple stage hangings. The Megarians, associated with the Sicilians in Aristotle's report of the Dorian claim to having invented both tragedy and comedy,⁴⁰ seem to have used purple to excess in their set design.⁴¹

The orchestra floor at Syracuse hides even more elaborate devices.⁴² If Polacco and Anti are right, in a third phase of improvements on the theater, perhaps contemporary with Aeschylus' visits to Syracuse, a large tunnel was hollowed out of the rock below the orchestra floor. This passageway may well have functioned as 'Charonian Steps.'⁴³ 'Charonian Steps' were not common, but they are found in other theaters, and generally thought to have provided a route for dramatic entries of ghosts, such as the appearance of Darius at the end of the *Persians*. The wideness of this passageway suggests to Polacco and Anti that the passage was originally intended not for entrances, but as an acoustic mechanism. Even if it was not originally built as 'Charonian Steps,' however, it would have provided an excellent

³⁸ Schol. Venet. in Ar. *Ran.* 1028. ³⁹ Suda, q.v. Phormis; Polacco and Anti (1981) 164–6.

⁴⁰ Arist. *Poet.* 3, 1448a30. ⁴¹ Arist. *Nic. Eth.* iv 6, 1123a21.

⁴² Cf. Marconi, this volume, for a discussion of the difficult archaeology of this theater. If, as Marconi and others argue, the stone theater was not built until the third century, the presence of this stone mechanism at a later date may still indicate that the Syracusans valued this device. This is in contrast to the remains at Athens, where we have no indication that there were 'Charonian Steps' at any stage of the theater's evolution.

⁴³ Cf. Pollux, *Onomasticon* iv, 132.

mechanism for the raising of Darius from the dead. In fact, such a wide passageway might perhaps itself have inspired scenes like the one in *Persians*.

Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*, in celebration of the founding of Aetna by Hieron, might also have been developed with the 'Charonian Steps' in mind. The extant passage from this play discusses the etymology of twin brothers who were said to have been born underground and to have returned to life:

A τί δῆτ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα θήσονται βροτοί;
 B σεμνοὺς Παλικούς Ζεὺς ἐφίεται καλεῖν.
 A ἢ καὶ Παλικῶν εὐλόγως μενεΐ φάτις;
 B πάλιν γὰρ ἤξουσ' ἐκ σ<κό> τους τόδ' εἰς φάος.⁴⁴

It is possible, of course, that Macrobius fixed on an unusual part of the play in his delight in the pun on the word Palici and that this is a minor episode. This is, however, the longest section preserved from the play, and it is not unreasonable to guess that the play had something to do with the myth and a miraculous sortie from the earth. Thus, Aeschylus developed two plays for Syracuse that seem to be ideally suited to 'Charonian Steps.' We might even consider this emphasis on underworld appearances in light of Kowalzig and Polacco and Anti's exposition of the association of the cult of Demeter in Sicily with theater.⁴⁵ The cult boasted many places of worship that emphasized the chthonic aspect of the Persephone/Demeter relationship, and the passage between life and afterlife must have been very much in the forefront of local religious worship.⁴⁶

This brings me to a much discussed oddity of *Persians*: the absence of specific Athenian names. Here I have but a small, rather obvious, point to make which is that it is conceivable that Aeschylus omitted specific Athenian names for a Sicilian production because the Sicilians simply would not have been interested.⁴⁷ Hieron's aim in inviting Aeschylus and staging *Aetnaeae* was, it appears, to foster a sense of community and success. In *Persians*, too, the anonymity of the Greeks, might have served Hieron's purposes well, helping to create a sense of the communal Greek strength stretching from east to west against the threat of both Persia and

⁴⁴ Macrobius, *Sat.* v 19, 17f. 24. "A: What name shall mankind give to them? / B: Zeus has ordered that they be called the holy Palici. / A: And will the name of Palici remain as is reasonable? / B. Yes, for they will come back from the darkness to the light."

⁴⁵ Kowalzig (2008); Polacco and Anti (1981); Polacco *et al.* (1990). On the connections between the cult of Demeter and Persephone and comedy in Sicily, see further MacLachlan, this volume.

⁴⁶ On the Deinomenid tyrants' interest in developing the cult of Demeter in which they were priests, see Hinz (1998), Polacco (1986), White (1964).

⁴⁷ Cf. Taplin (2007b), who argues that the play was written to appeal not just to Athens, but to the wider Greek world.

Carthage.⁴⁸ A similar association can be found in Pindar's famous first *Pythian* (72–81).⁴⁹ Perhaps the Greeks were not the focus of the piece, but it was, rather, the luxurious depiction of the Persians that fascinated the Sicilians and engaged them with the play. Indeed, as Clemente Marconi points out in a discussion of the eastern elements on Selinuntine Metopes, Sicily began to have complicated dealings with Persia and the east precisely at the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century. Several important Persian personages came to the island, including Scythes of Cos, who was for a time installed as governor of Zancle. Marconi suggests that not only art, but also contemporary plays on eastern themes (not only Aeschylus' *Persians*, but also Epicharmus' play by the same name, and a play by Epicharmus' contemporary Dinolochus in which Heracles fights the Amazons) might reflect contemporary political and social engagement with the east.⁵⁰

Likewise, the awkward tetralogy, which does not appear to be coherent and seems unorthodox in the Athenian context, would not be so peculiar in Syracuse. We do not have evidence of many early Sicilian tragedians,⁵¹ and so, although there may have been local comic competition, it seems very unlikely that the city produced tragic competitions on the scale of Athens' Dionysia. We have the record, moreover that Hieron invited Aeschylus to write a single play – *Aetnaeae* – not a trilogy, and so it seems likely that neither tetralogies, nor trilogies were *de rigueur* in Syracuse. Thus, *Persians*, the vivid retelling of the recent event so important for the Syracusans as the symbolic counterpart of their triumph at Himera, might have been written to be produced *by itself* at Syracuse. On this model, it was only later, when Aeschylus returned to Athens, that he would have put it together with a few other plays in a tetralogy to fit the requirements of the competition at the Dionysia.⁵²

⁴⁸ Scodel (2001); Hall (1996) 2; Rehm (1989).

⁴⁹ Cf. Taplin (2007b). ⁵⁰ Marconi (1994) 268–72.

⁵¹ On Carcinus I who may have come from Acragas, Carcinus II and Empedocles, see Wilson (2007b) 362.

⁵² Sommerstein (2008) 7–10 argues that the link between the three plays was the Persian wars. He suggests that two fragments which contain references to Sicily (to the river Himeras or city of Himera (fr. 25a) and to a harbor near the Strait of Messina (fr. 40a)) belong to the third play of the trilogy, *Glaucus Potnieus*. He argues that the speaker of 25a is Poseidon who prophesies that “one day (in gratitude for good treatment he had received there? [Himera]) he would give the Greeks of Sicily victory over their enemies” (2008) 8–9. In this way, the third tragedy would have dealt explicitly with the Sicilian victory over the Carthaginians, and Aeschylus' trilogy would have brought Salamis and Himera together as did, Sommerstein notes, Pindar's *Pythian* 1, which was performed before Hieron at Aetna in 470. Sommerstein (2010) gives a more full analysis in the first issue of the new journal *Dionysus ex Machina*, which I was unfortunately not able to consult before the publication of this volume. I am grateful to Robin Mitchell-Boyask for bringing this argument to my attention.

Finally, that the topic was drawn from recent history is unremarkable in the west. We have, of course, so little evidence for tragedy performed in Sicily that it is difficult to identify a standard – and perhaps there were not enough tragedies written or produced for there to have been a standard. The tragedies known to have been performed in Sicily, however, are unconventional, if judged against Athenian standards. An unorthodox aspect of the *Aetnaeae*, for example, is revealed in a papyrus fragment, which seems to come from the hypothesis or some summary of the play.⁵³ In this fragment the action of the play is said to move from Aetna to Xuthia, then back to Aetna, then to Leontini, and after this to Syracuse. This is an extraordinary progression for an Attic Greek play, since most do generally hold to unity of place. That such unorthodox shifts of location were written into a play destined for Sicilian performance suggests that plays produced in Sicily may not have followed Athenian customs. Second, there is some evidence that Epicharmus, the star comic playwright of Sicily, seems also, at this very period, to have written some plays on contemporary subjects. Most notable of these is the *Islands* in which he is said to have celebrated Hieron for defending the inhabitants of Locri against the tyrant Anaxilas of Rhegium. Later Sicilian tragedians are noted for their overt political goals, including Dionysius I and Empedocles.⁵⁴ More specifically, sources for the subject of *Persians* may have been close at hand in Sicily. Aeschylus' two contemporaries famous for their writing on the Persian wars, Phrynichus and Simonides, may also have traveled to Sicily. A key influence on Aeschylus' *Persians* appears to have been Phrynichus' *Phoenissae*, performed before the *Aetnaeae* and *Persians* of the mid-470s. Like Phrynichus, Simonides, author of memorial poems on the battles of the Persian wars, may have crossed to Sicily. Taplin discusses the possibility that Simonides' poems, like Aeschylus' *Persians*, may not have made much of the Athenians.⁵⁵ These three poets, all of whom famously took up the recent Persian wars in their writing, may all have drifted west.

That there was a suitable cultic, performative and literary context for a first performance of *Persians* in Syracuse does not prove that it was written to be performed in Sicily. Certainly, the raising of Darius must have been contrived at the theater of Dionysus in Athens in 472; Aeschylus could have visited Sicily three times, or written *Aetnaeae* very late; and the anomalous record of a reproduction of a tragedy in the fifth century would not be the

⁵³ *P Oxy.* 2257 fr. 1.

⁵⁴ On Dionysius I's tragedies on recent history, see Anne Duncan, this volume. On Empedocles, see Arist. fr. 70, *TrGF* 1, 50.

⁵⁵ Taplin (2007b) 4–5. See also n. 30 above and Morgan, this volume, 49.

first cultural *hapax legomenon* in our histories of theater. Nevertheless, if we may deal in the balance of probabilities, the première of *Persians* fits more neatly into the Syracusan context than it does the Athenian.

Hieron's Aeschylus

If the play was written with Hieron and Syracuse in mind, the subject and themes of the play should be suitable for the western audience and tyrant. Much has been written explaining the political and social resonance of Aeschylus' *Persians* with the Athenian audience of 472. Edith Hall has argued that the play developed the Athenian view of the barbarian other, and also promoted a democratic ideology of the common citizen.⁵⁶ David Rosenbloom has recently argued that the play was a warning that the Athenian empire should not overextend itself.⁵⁷ Sara Forsdyke has demonstrated that the democratic *polis* associated civic strength with political freedom.⁵⁸ These analyses are persuasive and demonstrate how the play may have been interpreted by its Athenian audience of 472.

The polarization of the Greek and barbarian worlds that Hall exposes and the implicit warning against excessive growth that Rosenbloom identifies also fit neatly in the Deinomenid ideological framework of the world. Both are apparent, for example, in Pindar's first *Pythian* written to honor Hieron. Pindar celebrates western Greek victory over the Etruscans and Phoenician fleet at Himera (1.72–80),⁵⁹ and warns Hieron not to overreach.

The opposition of democracy with tyranny that Forsdyke identifies may perhaps also accord with contemporary Deinomenid self-positioning as enlightened leaders.⁶⁰ It may, however, be possible to read *Persians* differently, not as a juxtaposition between democracy and tyranny, but between a good ruler and a bad one. Forsdyke uses *Persians*, in conjunction with Herodotus' tale of Demaratus, as evidence for a democratic trope that tyranny creates a weak people whereas democracy, in which the population is free, becomes strong.⁶¹ A central point of comparison is the weakness of Xerxes' army, which, though huge, does not stand a chance against the small army of the Athenians. The messenger strikingly juxtaposes the valiant band

⁵⁶ Hall (1989) 56–100; (1996) 12. ⁵⁷ Rosenbloom (2007).

⁵⁸ Forsdyke (2001). ⁵⁹ See Hall, this volume, 28.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the tyrants' efforts to maintain a veneer of democracy, see Bosher (2006).

⁶¹ Forsdyke (2001) 342: "I am arguing first that the dramatic presentation of certain political values in Aeschylus' *Persians* reflects and itself helped to construct some of the ways that the Athenian democratic culture represented its political values to itself."

of Athenians who are fighting for freedom with the barbarians, a term the Persians use of themselves in the play.

The second half of the play, however, seems to set up a different opposition. In line 640, the chorus begins to call for the ghost of their old king, Darius, a tyrant like his son Xerxes. In this ode, the chorus recalls the tragic failure of Xerxes by describing the successful and just reign of his predecessor Darius (*Persians*, 652 – 6). Xerxes is described as the opposite, not of the moderate democrats of Athens, but of another tyrant, his father. As Saïd has argued, there is a striking difference between Herodotus' account of the Persian wars and that of Aeschylus. For Herodotus, Xerxes' campaign is the inevitable conclusion of generations of Persian imperialist policies, whereas for Aeschylus, Xerxes' campaign to the west is a break from earlier expansion that had been limited to the east. Thus, for Aeschylus, Xerxes does not belong to the grand tradition of eastern rulers that culminated in the noble Darius.⁶²

Xerxes' crimes are revealed in the discussion between the chorus and the ghost of the dead king Darius: Xerxes had had the hubris to 'yoke' the Bosphorus (722, 746–9); he had acted through naïveté in the rashness of youth (744); he had challenged the gods (749–50). Excuses are, moreover, offered: perhaps he was sick (750); certainly he was egged on by bad advisors (753–8). Indeed, Darius goes to great lengths to point out how many successful tyrants ruled Asia before him (759–86). He concludes that it was Xerxes' youth which brought on the disaster, not the form of government (782), because no other who held the scepter before ever brought such a calamity on the people:

ἄπαντες ἡμεῖς, οἱ κράτη τάδ' ἔσχομεν,
οὐκ ἂν φανεῖμεν πῆματ' ἔρξαντες τόσα.⁶³

Such protestations on Darius' part, might, it is true, be taken as the vain excuses of a losing power. Perhaps an audience should see through this speech and, understanding the characterization of the elderly tyrant, be unimpressed by his excuses. But why does Aeschylus go to such lengths to present an argument that the failure of the Persians was not due to the system

⁶² Saïd (1981) 18, "l'opposition entre Eschyle et Hérodote est frappante. Dans les *Perses*, la campagne de Xerxès, qui aboutit à un 'désastre immense, inoubliable' (760), constitue une rupture avec un expansionnisme limité à l'Asie et une tradition qui commence avec Médos, 'le premier chef du peuple' (765), et trouve son incarnation la plus parfaite en Darius. Dans les *Histoires*, elle devient la conséquence inévitable de l'impérialisme perse et son chef se conduit en vrai fils de son père et en digne héritier des souverains qui l'ont précédé."

⁶³ "All of us, who have held this power, / cannot be shown to have brought about such calamity." *Persians* 785–6, Garvie.

of government, but to the youthful hubris of their new leader? Xerxes, we understand from the second half of the play, was not typical and it was not the sheer fact of the tyranny that led to the Persians' downfall, but the arrogance of one man, Xerxes.⁶⁴

One particularly strong argument that tyranny is unfavorably compared to democracy is that the Persians seem to long for, and do not have, free speech. Two instances are adduced to prove this point: first, the Persian elders fear that the people will no longer be silent but will speak freely (591–7), and secondly, the chorus and the queen hesitate to speak freely in front of their old king Darius (694–706).⁶⁵ A slightly different interpretation might be put on these passages, if one wanted to absolve the play of setting up stark oppositions between democracy and tyranny. The first case, the Persian elders' fear that the people will speak freely, is preceded in the previous stasimon by a striking *hapax*, *περσονομοῦνται* (585), meaning “under Persian law or governed by Persians.” The elders fear that “those who live throughout Asia will no longer be under Persian law”⁶⁶ and will, therefore, no longer keep their thoughts to themselves, but will be free to utter them. Who “lives throughout Asia governed by Persian laws”? If not Persians (which would explain the emphasis Aeschylus places on their subordination to Persian laws),⁶⁷ then perhaps they are the myriad other peoples who were ruled by the Persians in Asia Minor (including the insubordinate Ionian Greeks). This description of subject peoples throwing off Persian domination need not then be a reference to the beginning of democracy, but a description of a conquered people regaining their freedom (and it would still be freedom if a king of their own took their own throne). One might imagine that peoples subject to the will of the democratic state of Athens (like, for example, Mytilene) might have experienced the same sense of relief and freedom had their rebellion succeeded, and they had been freed from the control of Athens, a democratic city.

The second example of restricted speech occurs in the dialogue between Darius, his queen and the chorus. However, the reluctance of the chorus to tell Darius that his kingdom has been completely destroyed is not necessarily caused by fear of the tyrant, but by dislike of bringing bad news. Their second excuse, that they really do not like telling the people they love bad news,

⁶⁴ Hall (1996) 12 suggests that this juxtaposition of good and bad king might be meant to reflect the rivalry between Themistocles and Cimon. Cf. Said (1981) 31–8.

⁶⁵ Forsdyke (2001) 344. ⁶⁶ Cf. Garvie (2009) 247.

⁶⁷ He seems to have made the verb up for this play. Cf. Garvie (2009) 247.

further supports this characterization of a chorus desperate not to be bearers of bad tidings.⁶⁸

For an audience unwilling to accept that the Athenians won because of the strength derived from democracy, Aeschylus offers another interpretation of their success. The messenger who reports the destruction of the Persian forces says that it is the gods who preserve Athens (346). The chorus, too, early in the play make reference to the inscrutability of the gods who bring unexpected twists of fate (107–19). Thus, fate, together with Xerxes' youthful hubris, is an explanation for the tragedy depicted here.

Like *Persians*, which presents the wise, capable character of Darius in contrast with his foolhardy, hapless son, Xerxes, many of the plays performed in Syracuse in the early fifth century seem to promote the idea of a great leader. Aeschylus' presentation of *Aetnaeae* to celebrate Hieron's 'founding' of the city of Etna is the most straightforward use of theater to celebrate the tyrant as city founder. Epicharmus' portrayal of heroic Greeks overcoming brutal barbarians and wicked enemies is most explicit in the *Islands*, in which he reported Hieron saving the Locrians from the tyrant Anaxilas of Rhegium. This plot was preserved in a note by the scholiast to Pindar's first *Pythian* near a line disparaging the brutal tyranny of Phalaris, the earlier Sicilian tyrant who was said to have roasted his enemies in a bronze bull.⁶⁹ Hieron was perhaps distinguishing himself from these brutal rulers; he was a good tyrant.⁷⁰

The theme of the importance of a good king and the dangers of a bad one, as it is set out in the extant version of *Persians*, seems suited to appeal to the western audience and its tyrant. When this interpretation of the play is taken together with the set of literary, cultural and physical circumstances that make a first Sicilian production likely, it may no longer seem preposterous to revisit Kiehl's 1852 suggestion that the play was written for Sicilian performance. Even if *Persians* was not commissioned by Hieron, perhaps it was the theater-hungry Sicilians and their well-funded and suitable performance space, unconstrained by the customs of Athenian theater, that Aeschylus had in mind when he wrote this strange tragedy.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Such ineffectual hesitation on the part of a chorus occurs elsewhere, most notably perhaps in the chorus' ditherings in the scene of the death of Agamemnon in Aeschylus' trilogy of nearly two decades later, the *Oresteia*.

⁶⁹ PCG 96 (Scholiast (DEFGQ) Pindar, *Pythian* 1, 99a, 2 p. 18, 21 Dr.).

⁷⁰ Cf. Monoson, this volume on tragedians as apologists for tyrants.

⁷¹ On the production of tragedy in non-democratic states and for the argument that tragedy seems to be about the tension between monarchy and democracy, see Griffin (1998) 47, 50–1.

6 | Sicily and the identities of Xuthus

Stesichorus, Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*, and Euripides' *Ion*

DAVID G. SMITH

In spite of my title, I start and end this chapter with the manipulation of genealogy in Euripides' *Ion*, because, as a play which stresses Athenian claims to autochthony and the leadership of the Ionians, it has lent itself to interpretation in the past under two Athenocentric principles of the type this volume is meant to counterbalance. One is a tendency to categorize Athens as the center of theatrical production and areas outside Athens as loci of theatrical reception. A second tendency, related to the first, is to interpret theater outside Athens in the context of Athenian theater rather than in the context of local poetic traditions. My approach, then, will be to look again at the *Ion* from a perspective which tries to reverse these two principles by considering Euripides' work as a response to earlier traditions established by Stesichorus and Aeschylus in Sicily.

The genealogical issues Euripides explores as the main theme of the *Ion* have been generally interpreted as expressing Athenian propaganda during the Peloponnesian War. Ion is the eponym of the Ionians and Dorus of the Dorians, and the asymmetrical paternal relationship established between them in the play becomes a thinly veiled expression of Athenian wartime ideology.¹ Jonathan Hall sums up this school of thought as follows: "Both in the substitution of Doros for Ion as Xuthus' son, as well as in the attribution of a divine father to Ion but a mortal one to Doros, it is hard not to see a conscious act of propaganda which reflects the antagonistic relationship between Athens and Sparta in the closing stages of the Peloponnesian War."² Yet Dorus and Ion are not the only ones to receive revisions to their ancestry in the *Ion*, for as I hope to show, the character of Xuthus, Ion's putative father, receives a nudge to his genealogy as well. This more obscure aspect of Euripides' revisionism, however, has rarely been noted, and so I begin by considering whether or not there existed some Xuthian place or people

¹ See Alty (1982) contra Will (1956) on the importance of ethnic feeling among Dorians and Ionians, especially at the time of the Peloponnesian War. With respect to the *Ion* at Athens, see Grégoire (1959) 164–5 and Delebecque (1951) 229–32 for the 'patriotic' interpretation; Conacher (1959) 22–6, Walsh (1978), Hoffer (1996) 312–17, and Hall (1997) 40–51 for critical discussion; Zacharia (2003) 44–102 and Swift (2008) 69–85 for summary.

² Hall (1997) 56.

whose identity could have been subject to wartime ideological contestation by the Athenians.

Xuthia

We have three notices, and only three, on the existence of a place called Xuthia. The primary notice, which expresses an eponymous relationship, is that of Diodorus (5.8), which says: ἐβασίλευσε δὲ καὶ Ξοῦθος τῆς περὶ τοὺς Λεοντίνους χώρας, ἥτις ἀπ’ ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χρόνου Ξουθία προσαγορεύεται “Xuthus was king of the land around Leontini, which even up to the current day is called Xuthia.” Given that Diodorus was born and raised at Agyrium, only fifty miles or so from Leontini, we can assume that he knows what he is talking about in this case, and that – contrary to his usual practice – he is speaking here from his own personal knowledge. The second notice is from Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Xuthia), citing Philistus of Syracuse (*FGrH* 556F18), and reads simply: Ξουθία, πόλις Σικελίας. Φίλιστος τρίτῳ Σικελικῶν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ξουθιάτης “Xuthia is a polis of Sicily, according to Philistus in the third book of his *Sikelika*. The ethnonym is *Xuthiatēs*.” Although Stephanus may not necessarily be trusted with the details of ancient Sicilian geographic obscurities, we are put on more secure ground by his citation of Philistus, the fourth-century BC historian from Syracuse, who again probably knew where things were in his own backyard. The third notice comes in the recently discovered hypothesis to Aeschylus’ *Aetnaeae*, which relates that the play in question had four scene changes, from Aetna to Xouthia (*sic*) to Aetna to Leontini to Syracuse, where if Pfeiffer’s supplement is right, the play concluded at Temenite, a district within that city:³

κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον μέρος αὐτοῦ ἡ σκηνὴ ὑπόκειται Αἴτνη, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον Ξουθία, κατὰ δὲ τὸ τρίτον πάλιν Αἴτνη, εἴτ’ ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς Λεοντίνους μεταβάλλει καὶ γίνεται ἡ σκηνὴ Λεον... , μετὰ δ’ αὐτὸν Συρακοῦσσαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ [ἐν Τεμενίτ]ηι διαπεραίνεται, ὅς ἐστι τοπ[

In the first act the scene is Aetna, in the second Xuthia, in the third back to Aetna, then from this place the scene changes to Leontini and becomes Leon[tini], after that it’s Syracuse, and the rest concludes [in Temenit]e, which is a distr[ict within the city].

³ The text here is that proposed by Radt (*TrGF*, which is entirely secure with regard to *Xouthia*), based on Lobel’s original (*P Oxy.* 2257 fr. 1, where Pfeiffer’s supplement was already proposed). The revisions by Görschen (1956) are rarely accepted.

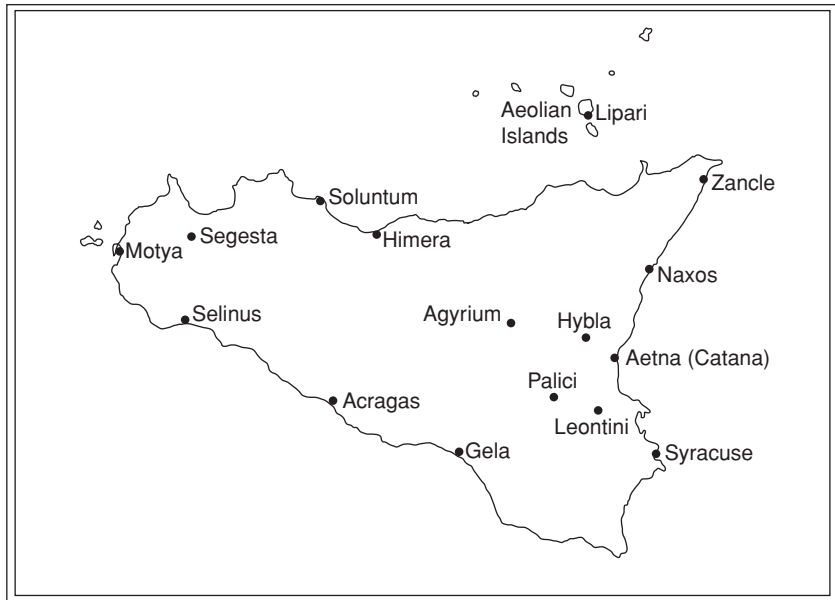


Figure 6.1 Map of Sicily

Stephanus' ascription of *polis*-status to Xuthia may or may not be accurate, but nevertheless all the sources agree Xuthia to be near, or part of, or all of the fertile Leontinian plain in Sicily. Yet what concerns us is not so much the relatively certain physical location of the region as its apparently elusive identity. So for example, Mazzarino felt Xuthia should have been, per Diodorus 5.8, near Leontini and therefore Ionian in nature.⁴ Bernabò Brea considered Xuthia to be the pre-Greek name for the region of Leontini, while La Rosa argued that Xuthia was the name of a region near the shrine of the Palici and is therefore to be associated with native Sicilian culture.⁵ Garzya on the other hand pointed out that Xuthus is the son of Aeolus and therefore is probably Aeolian instead.⁶ Given a situation of this perplexity, Stephanus' otherwise intriguing but hopelessly late comment that *Xuthiatēs* is an ethnic appellation is of dubious significance.⁷ (See Figure 6.1.)

⁴ Mazzarino (1966) 1.555 n. 110. ⁵ Bernabò Brea (1971); La Rosa (1974).

⁶ Garzya (1977) 408. In the hypothesis to *Aetnaeae*, at least – given our remarkably full understanding of the context of its production – we should expect Xuthia to represent Syracusan (i.e. Dorian) claims to the territory of Leontini: see Maddoli (1980) 52–3, Giangiulio (1983) 828–33; Luraghi (1994) 343–4; Poli-Palladini (2001) 299–301; and below.

⁷ For doubt about Stephanus' statement, see, e.g., Grégoire (1959) 155, Cassola (1953) 283, and Hirschberger (2004) 178.

Xuthus

Perhaps some light on the identity of Xuthia could be shed by recourse to its eponym, Xuthus. In fact, Pauly–Wissowa’s *Real-Encyclopädie* has entries for no fewer than six Xuthuses. Should we assume that these entries reflect independent traditions about separate characters who simply happen to be homonymous? Were one to take a slightly more New Historicist approach rather than the Encyclopedia’s implicitly positivist one, what one might rather expect is confusion and contestation over a family line whose very obscurity encourages the manipulation of the identities within its configuration. I suggest then, in the same spirit with which the many varied relative genealogical positions of Dorus or Ion can be manipulated for ethnopolitical reasons, that most of our half-dozen Xuthuses can be cured of their identity crisis and connected to a series of ideological agendas which put forward competing territorial claims to Xuthia and the ethnopolitical definition of eastern Sicily. In order to demonstrate this, I first identify two main genealogical and geographical distinctions within the traditions of Xuthus’ biography.

On the one hand, Xuthus is part of the so-called Hellenic genealogy, attested in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, in which the three sons of “war-loving King” Hellen, eponymous ancestor of the Greek people, were “Dorus, Xuthus, and Aeolus who fights from the chariot” (Hes. *Cat.* fr. 9 M.W.). Hellen divided the country among his sons, and Xuthus, driven out of Thessaly by his brothers, who charged him with appropriating some of the ancestral property, went to Athens (Paus. 7.1.2–3). There, he found that war had broken out between Athens and Chalcis; Xuthus came and helped the Athenians, Athens won, and Xuthus’ reward was marriage to Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus (Eur. *Ion* 59–64, 289–98). His sons by Creusa were Ion of the noble steeds, Achaeus, and Diomedes (Hes. *Cat.* fr. 10a20–4 M.W.). On Erechtheus’ death, Xuthus was selected to choose which of Erechtheus’ sons would be the next king. He chose Cecrops, the eldest, and was therefore banished by the other sons. He then came to Aegialus, where he settled and died (Paus. 7.1.2–3).⁸ (See Figure 6.2.)

Two other sons are mentioned: Cothus and Aeclus, who both eventually emigrated to Euboea.⁹ Cothus had a prophecy that he would have success against his enemies if he bought the land, so he tricked some local children

⁸ Aegialus being the ancient name for Achaea and the region near Sicyon (Apollod. 2.1.1 and Paus. 2.5.6), probably in conjunction with the *Catalogue*’s assertion that Xuthus’ sons were Ion and Achaeus.

⁹ Their maternal descent is unknown.

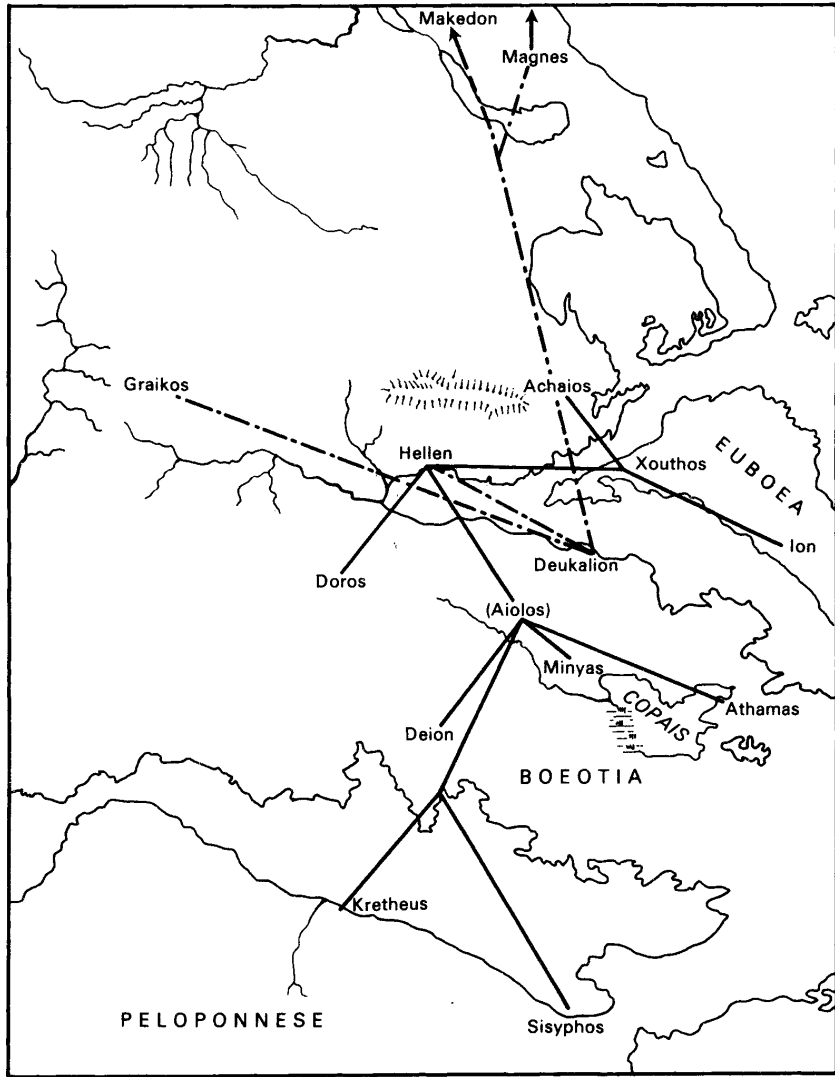


Figure 6.2 Map of the House of Hellen

West's reconstruction (1985) 140 according to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

into taking some toys from him in exchange for a handful of earth (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 296d), a well-attested colonializing metaphor.¹⁰ Given the fact that Athens is well-provided with a full history of kings and regal succession regardless of Xuthus' arrival, as well as the fact of Xuthus' north-central

¹⁰ Malkin (1994) 174–81 and, with a slightly different emphasis, Calame (2003) 43–66.

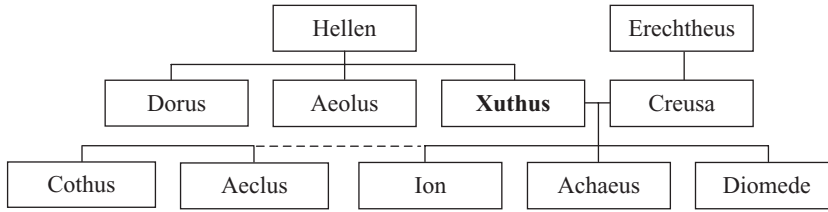


Chart 6.1 The family of the Hellenic Xuthus

origins and his connections with the Athenian conquest and/or settlement of Euboea, West argues that Xuthus himself (especially via his children Achaëus and Ion) might represent the traditions of Achaean Thessaly and Ionian Euboea tailored to the interests of a late sixth-century Athenian audience.¹¹ In this case, we are looking at a Xuthus with Hellenic origins and Ionian associations. (See Chart 6.1.)

A different tradition gives to Xuthus a completely different biography, one with a Heraclid heritage and Dorian associations. Here Xuthus is not the brother but the son of an Aeolus who is not the son of Hellen but the son of a man named Hippotes. This Aeolus is better known as the King of the Winds whom Odysseus meets in Book 10 of the *Odyssey*.¹² Diodorus (5.8) makes this Aeolus the obviously eponymous ruler of the Aeolian Islands and makes his six sons, including Xuthus, as we have already seen, rulers of various places in southern Italy and Sicily. Since Hippotes is known to be a Heraclid (Apollod. 2.8.3), this gives him and his grandson Xuthus Dorian rather than Ionian associations.¹³ Aeolus, the intervening figure, has a tradition that is so confused even in antiquity that he does not present a profitable entry-point into this Dorian tradition. On the other hand, at the place where the Heraclid Hippotes doubles Hellen as the father of Aeolus and grandfather of Xuthus, he becomes a ‘fracture point’ in the genealogy and thus the significant figure of dynamism in the tradition of a non-Ionian Xuthus.

¹¹ West (1985) 58, 139.

¹² Cf. Σ Hom. *Od.* 10.2 and Asclepiades of Tragilus *FGrH* 12F26.

¹³ Probably by the time of Tyrtaeus (frs. 2, 11 W), contemporary Heraclidae were associated more with the Dorians they ruled than the Achaëans from whom they claimed to descend; Cleomenes’ argument with the Athenian priestess over the ethnicity of the Spartan kings (Hdt. 5.72) indicates the extent to which this shift was felt. Though acknowledged as separate groups by myth-historicizing Greek sources, the children of Heracles were thought to have led the settlement of the Dorians in the Peloponnese and so, by extension, they were especially regarded as the founders of Dorian colonies there and elsewhere; e.g., Archias, the Corinthian founder of Dorian Syracuse, claimed Heraclid descent (Thuc. 6.3). See further Malkin (1994) 15–45 and Hall (1997) 56–65.

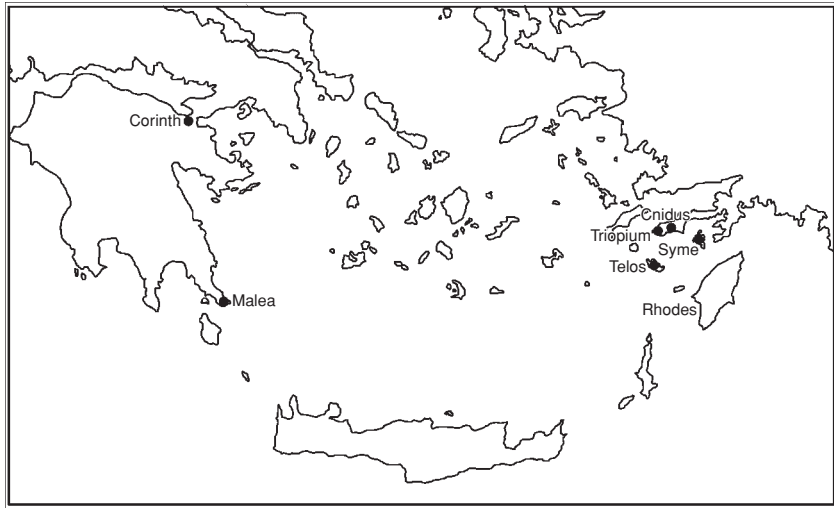


Figure 6.3 Map of the Heraclid Xuthus

Hippotes was a great-grandson of Heracles who, during the migrations, killed the seer Carnus (origin of the Carneia) and was banished by Apollo for ten years (Paus. 3.13.3). During this time, he seems to have fathered a son, Aletes (“The Wanderer”), who usurped the throne of Corinth from the family of Sisyphus and held it until the period of Bacchiad rule.¹⁴ The Corinthian tradition can also be seen making Xuthus’ wife Creusa the daughter “some say of Creon, others say of Hippotes” in Corinth rather than the daughter of Erechtheus in Athens (Cleitodemus *FGrH* 323F19 = Σ Eur. *Med.* 19). (See Figure 6.3.)

Hippotes eventually came to the southern end of the Peloponnese, laid a curse on the Malians who would not sail off with him (Arist. fr. 554 Rose), and left to found the city of Cnidus (Tzet. *ad Lyc.* 1388). His companion Nausus participated in the Peloponnesian colonization of nearby Dorian Syme, as did Xuthus himself at the head of Cnidians and Rhodians in a subsequent generation (Diod. 5.53). Clearly, then, we are dealing with a tradition distinct from that of the Hellenic-Ionian Xuthus discussed above. With a grandfather in the Peloponnese and in the Dorian islands of the eastern Aegean – this Xuthus has, instead, Heraclid origins and Dorian associations. (See Chart 6.2.)

So far, I have presented deliberately separate and synoptic accounts, arranging the data points for the relatively more well-attested person Xuthus

¹⁴ On Aletes at Corinth, see Hall (1997) 58 and Robertson (1980).

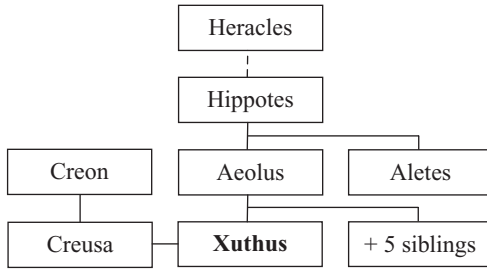


Chart 6.2 The family of the Heraclid Xuthus

roughly along geo-ethnic lines in an attempt to gain insight into the contested identity or identities of the less well-attested place Xuthia. The next task is to determine in what contexts these two traditions, so to speak, about Xuthus either originally coalesced or were later reasserted, in a chain of poetics over 150 years long. Tracing the contested identity of Xuthus in this way, taking “adequate account of both active agency and historical contingency,” will not only lead us to satisfy the methodological desiderata raised by our volume, but will also provide an insight into the nature and origin of competing claims to the eponymous ancestry of the fertile Leontinian plains of eastern Sicily.¹⁵

Normally, in sorting out these accounts, one would start with the evidence of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue* because of its early origins and connection to long-standing poetic traditions. However, of course, varying theories as to the date and origin of the *Catalogue* and its contents have been proposed.¹⁶ On the early side, Janko’s statistical study of the epic language makes the *Catalogue* roughly contemporary with the *Theogony*, to be placed in the beginning of the seventh century.¹⁷ Schwartz on the other hand places it as late as the early fifth century.¹⁸ Between these extremes, however, a rough consensus is being reached, on the basis of literary and political considerations. Thus Fowler believes the poem reflects the political situation at the beginning of the sixth century and should thus date to around 580 BC, whereas West argues that the poem should date from between 580 and 520, likely from the end of that period.¹⁹ As to the place of composition for the *Catalogue*’s final form, West is firm on Attica and Athens. This is significant, for if the poem – or even just the parts of it having to do with Xuthus – dates even slightly after the year 580, as seems to be the growing consensus,

¹⁵ Quotation from Hall, this volume, 34.

¹⁶ For recent reviews, see Rutherford (2005) 114–17 and Hirschberger (2004) 32–41.

¹⁷ Janko (1982) 200, 221–5. ¹⁸ Schwartz (1960) 498.

¹⁹ Fowler (1998) 13; West (1985) 130–7.

then the *Catalogue of Women* gets bumped from its position at the head of the temporal line of sources about Xuthus and undergoes an important transformation from being the apparent origin of the Xuthus story to being a revision of the Xuthus story.

Stesichorus and Pentathlus

So, where was Xuthus in 580, before he entered the *Catalogue*? Let us turn to events of that year, found immediately following our passage of Diodorus 5.8, in his fifth book “On Islands” regarding the house of Aeolus, son of Hippotes, ruler of the Aeolian Islands, King of the Winds, and father of Xuthus the ruler of Xuthia near Leontini. In so doing, we will see that Xuthus traditions were probably already playing an important role in eastern Sicilian affairs by the early sixth century. Diodorus’ very next chapter is on the historical colonization of Lipari, which he places in the fiftieth Olympiad, i.e. 580–576.²⁰ It reads (5.9):

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον, πάλιν τῶν νήσων ἐξερημουμένων αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον, Κνίδιοι τινες καὶ Ρόδιοι δυσαρρεστήσαντες τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βασιλέων ἔγνωσαν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν. διόπερ προστησάμενοι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα Πένταθλον τὸν Κνίδιον, ὃς ἦν ἀναφέρων τὸ γένος εἰς Ἰππότην τὸν ἄφ’ Ἡρακλέους γεγονότα, κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν πεντηκοστήν, ἣν ἐνῖκα στάδιον Ἐπιτελίδας Λάκων, οἱ δ’ οὖν περὶ τὸν Πένταθλον πλεύσαντες τῆς Σικελίας εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὸ Λιλύβαιον τόπους κατέλαβον Ἐγεσταίους καὶ Σελινουντίους διαπολεμοῦντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους. πεισθέντες δὲ τοῖς Σελινουντίοις συμμαχεῖν πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πένταθλος. διόπερ οἱ περιλειφθέντες, ἐπειδὴ κατεπολεμήθησαν οἱ Σελινούντιοι, διέγνωσαν ἀπιέναι πάλιν ἐπ’ οἶκου· ἐλόμενοι δ’ ἡγεμόνας τοὺς οἰκείους τοῦ Πεντάθλου Γόργον καὶ Θέστορα καὶ Ἐπιθερσίδην, ἀπέπλεον διὰ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους. προσπλευσάντων δ’ αὐτῶν τῇ Λιπάρα καὶ φιλόφρονος ἀποδοχῆς τυχόντων, ἐπείσθησαν κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων κατοικῆσαι τὴν Λιπάραν, ὄντων τῶν ἀπ’ Αἰόλου περιλειμμένων ὡς πεντακοσίων.

Many years after these events, with the islands becoming ever more uninhabited, certain men of Cnidus and Rhodes, being gravely ill-treated by the kings of Asia, resolved to send out a colony. Therefore they chose Pentathlus the Cnidian as their leader (who traced his ancestry back to Hippotes the Heraclid) in the fiftieth Olympiad [580–576], when Epitelidas of Sparta won the *stadion*. Pentathlus and

²⁰ Merante (1967) 101 argues (on the basis of its otherwise unattested use of *oun* in Diodorus) that this passage on Pentathlus contains only a partial excerpt of Diodorus’ source and, in any event, is out of place and should have been included rather in the relevant section of Diodorus’ historically arranged books.

his men, having sailed to Sicily and the region near Lilybaeum, found the Segestans and Selinuntians at war with one another. Persuaded by the Selinuntians to be their allies, they lost many men in the fight, among whom was Pentathlus himself. Accordingly the survivors, since Selinus had lost the fight, decided to go back home. Choosing as their new leaders Gorgus and Thestor and Epithersides (relatives of Pentathlus), they sailed away across the Tyrrhenian Sea. When they came to Lipari, they received a warm welcome, and were persuaded to settle Lipari in common with its current inhabitants, since there were only about 500 of them remaining from the settlement of Aeolus.

According to his account, a group of Cnidians and Rhodians, mistreated by the kings of Asia, resolved to send out a colony. They chose as their leader Pentathlus of Cnidus, who traced his ancestry back to Hippotes the Heraclid. They sailed to western Sicily and attempted to found a colony opposite Punic Motya, but soon became embroiled in a war between the Greeks of Selinus and the Elymians of Segesta, which cost them heavily. Pentathlus was killed, but three new leaders were chosen, all said to be relatives of Pentathlus himself. They decided to return home, but stopped at Lipari on the way and, warmly welcomed by the few hundred men still living from Aeolus' original community, chose to settle there instead.²¹ The warm welcome by, integration with, and replenishment of the original inhabitants mentioned in our sources suggest that whatever historical processes of integration took place were peaceful and thus needed to rely on various strategies other than force to achieve their goals.²²

One of these strategies seems to have been to align Xuthus' biography to fit with that of Pentathlus and his followers, perhaps since both of them claimed to be descendants of Hippotes and had roots in the Dorian regions of the eastern Aegean. Thus, a few dozen chapters later, when Diodorus is describing various mythical foundations in the region of the Dorian Hexapolis and in particular the numerous refoundations of the island of Syme, he says (5.53):

Τὴν δὲ νῆσον τὴν Σύμην ὀνομαζομένην, τὸ παλαιὸν ἔρημον οὔσαν, πρῶτοι κατῴκησαν οἱ μετὰ Τρίσπος ἀφικόμενοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Χθόνιος ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Σύμης, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ νῆσος ἔτυχε ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας. ὕστερον δ' αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευσε Νιρεὺς ὁ Χαρόπου καὶ Ἀγλαΐας, κάλλει διαφέρων, ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ Τροίαν μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐστράτευσε, τῆς τε νήσου δυναστεύων καὶ τῆς Κνιδίας μέρους κυριεύων . . . ἡ

²¹ Roughly the same story is found in Pausanias (10.11.3), who attributes it specifically to Antiochus (*FGrH* 555F1), the fifth-century historian from Syracuse, thus giving the story as reliable an authority as one could want. On the minor variations within this tradition, see Merante (1967) and Braccisi (1996).

²² On the settlement of Lipari, see now Figueira (1984).

δὲ Σύμη διέμεινεν ἔρημος, ἕως ὃ στόλος ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀργείων παρέβαλεν εἰς τούτους τοὺς τόπους· ἔπειτα κατῳκίσθη πάλιν τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. τῶν μετὰ Ἰππότου τις μετασχὼν τῆς ἀποικίας, ὄνομα Ναῦσος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς καθυστερήσαντας τῆς κληροδοσίας, ἔρημον οὖσαν τὴν Σύμην κατῳκῆσε καὶ τισιν ἑτέροις ὕστερον καταπλεύσασιν, ὧν ἦν Ξοῦθος ἡγεμὼν, μεταδούς τῆς πολιτείας καὶ χώρας κοινῇ τὴν νῆσον κατῳκῆσε. φασὶ δὲ τῆς ἀποικίας ταύτης μετασχεῖν τοὺς τε Κνιδίους καὶ Ῥοδίους.

The first to settle the island called Syme, uninhabited in ancient times, were those with Triops who were led by Cthonius the son of Poseidon and by Syme, from whom the island gets its name. Later on Nireus (son of Charops and Aglaea), noted for his beauty, ruled there, and he marched to Troy with Agamemnon both as leader of the island and as master of part of Cnidia . . . [Later, abandoned because of drought,] Syme itself remained uninhabited until an expedition of Spartans and Argives arrived in those parts, and it was resettled in this way: one of the companions of Hippotes who was taking part in the colony – Nausus by name – gathered up all those who had arrived too late to receive a share in the land, and settled the uninhabited island of Syme with them and with some people who sailed in later under the leadership of Xuthus. Sharing both the land and citizenship with them, they settled the island in common. They say that both Cnidians and Rhodians took part in this colony.

Here, we note that the last phases of Syme's occupation were due, apparently, to the arrival of Xuthus at the head of a colonizing expedition of Cnidians and Rhodians – not so unlike the arrival of Pentathlus' expedition in the Aeolian Islands. What's more, Xuthus' expedition settled down to share Syme with its previous inhabitants – a Spartan settlement under the command of Nausus, a companion of Hippotes the Heraclid, we are told – again not so unlike the situation involving the settlement of Pentathlus' expedition on Lipari. The parallelism and complementarity drawn between the lineages involved in the mythical refoundation of Syme under Xuthus and those involved in the historical refoundation of Lipari under Pentathlus' men are suggestive, especially considering their somewhat idiosyncratic juxtaposition in Diodorus' narrative. (See Chart 6.3.)

Upon arrival in the Aeolian Islands, the three relatives of Pentathlus of Cnidus may have capitalized on the latter's Heraclid descent from Hippotes by encouraging the belief that both the companion (Nausus) and the grandchild (Xuthus) of Hippotes, the father of Aeolus, were once located in the region of Pentathlus' Dorian homeland. Emphasizing their dead leader's personal descent from and geo-familial connections with Hippotes, progenitor of the mythical royal house of the Aeolian Islands (resting on the

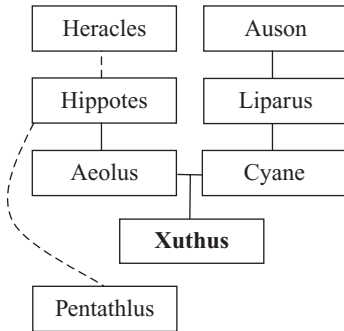


Chart 6.3 The family of the Heraclids Xuthus and Pentathlus (from Diodorus 5.7–9)

unshakeable foundations of Homer), would then prove useful in assuring the integration of Pentathlus' Rhodian and Cnidian followers into their new home.

Furthermore, in addition to Diodorus' testimony discussed above, there may be more, even contemporary witnesses to these events. We know from Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4F111) that, by the fifth century, Heracles' return with the cattle of Geryon was thought to have taken him on a detour through Sicily.²³ This likely explains two notices in Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1F76–7) from the second half of the sixth century, namely that Heracles beat Solous (called *kakoxenos*, “violent towards guests”) at the Phoenician town of Soloeis and that the nymph Motya revealed the identity of some thief who had stolen the cattle from Heracles near Motya. These relatively early attestations of Heracles in Sicily have prompted the suggestion that Hecataeus and Hellanicus are drawing on Stesichorus' *Geryoneis* (*SLG* S 7–87), which brought Heracles through the poet's own home of Himera and through to western Sicily during his return home with the cattle of Geryon.²⁴ Given the fact that Stesichorus and Pentathlus are contemporaries, the legend of Heracles' sojourns in western Sicily publicized by Stesichorus would seem to function as sort of charter myth for Pentathlus' initial attempt to establish Heraclid territorial claims in western Sicily.²⁵ However, in spite of a vast enlargement in 1967 of the corpus of papyrus fragments from the *Geryoneis* (*P Oxy.* 2617), little in the Stesichorean fragments other than the general outline

²³ Cf. Diod. 4.22.6–4.24.6 ≈ Timaeus *FGrH* 566F90. Cf. Brown (1958) 37.

²⁴ Dunbabin (1948) 330; Croon (1952a) 13–48; Pearson (1987) 59–62; see now Lazzeri (2008).

²⁵ Krings (1998) 1–32; Malkin (1994) 206–13; Jourdain-Annequin (1989) 273–300. Cf. the relationship between Stesichorus and a sixth-century inscription to Heracles found at Poggioreale: Giangiulio (1983) 796–7 and Malkin (1994) 213–18.

of the story could be related to the historical events under consideration here.²⁶

In 1990, however, Michael Haslam edited a volume of papyri from Oxyrrhynchus containing what appear to be numerous new fragments of Stesichorus (*P Oxy.* 3876), including this one (fr. 62):²⁷

] ἐστόλισεν μέ[γ]α φᾶρος ἀνεψιὸς
] Αἰόλου Ἰπ[π]οτάδα · καθ[έ]σ[αι]ς δ' ἐτά-
] νυσσ <εν> ἐπ' αἰ[όν]εσ-
] σι, πυρὰν δ' ᾗ [γ]α μέμβλε[τ]ο νεκρῶι
 c. 9–10] περιμάκας ᾗζους

The cousin of Aeolus son of Hippotes
 arranged a great cloak. Having set [the body?] down, he
 stretched [the cloak?] out on the beach,
 and was mindful [to make] a pyre for the corpse
 [out of?] very long branches.

Here we would seem to have Stesichorus, born in Mataurus in southern Italy, living in Himera on the north coast of Sicily (a sea journey from one to the other takes one right past the Aeolian Islands), writing of the death and burial of someone by an unnamed *anepsios* (meaning “cousin” or “nephew”) of Aeolus the son of Hippotes.²⁸ There has been speculation on the possible identities both of the cousin or nephew of Aeolus who builds this pyre and of the person being buried.²⁹ However, it may be that the identification of these figures is meant to bear a certain ambiguity in a local context. Aeolus is significantly called here the descendant of Hippotes, which in all likelihood localizes him in the Aeolian Islands. If we might now attribute this not only to the distant weight of the Homeric tradition but also to the recent, or even contemporary, actions of Hippotes’ other ‘descendant’ Pentathlus in those same Aeolian Islands, it seems not too unlikely to speculate that, even if a mythological personage was intended explicitly in the poem, an oblique reference to Pentathlus himself – technically also an *anepsios* of Aeolus – is far from ruled out.

In fact, there are additional reasons to suspect we may be on the right track in connecting this Stesichorean fragment to the actions of Pentathlus

²⁶ Cf. Page (1973) 138–53. ²⁷ For text and commentary, see now Schade (2003) 93, 106–11.

²⁸ On Stesichorus’ *vita*, see West (1971).

²⁹ See the debate between Lloyd-Jones (1991a, 1991b) and Haslam (1991). Some now read this fragment as part of a poem on funeral games, either for Achilles (Garner 1993) or Pelias (Gangutia 2004).

and his followers in the years immediately following 580. The stark intrusion of Pentathlus' historical colonization where it doesn't belong in Diodorus' overall structure, discussed above, may signal that the collocation of Pentathlus' genealogy and Aeolus' genealogy is not accidental. Furthermore, the passage of Diodorus on the early myth-history of the Aeolian Islands (5.7–8), onto which the *ktisis* story of Pentathlus (5.9) artificially attaches itself, is concerned precisely with the succession of dynasties in Lipari, as seen here (Diod. 5.7):

φασὶ δὲ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐρήμους γεγονέναι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Λίπαρον, Αὔσονος ὄντα τοῦ βασιλέως υἱόν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καταστασιασθῆναι, κυριεύσαντα δὲ νεῶν μακρῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ τούτου Λιπάραν ὀνομασθεῖσαν· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ πόλιν κτίσαι, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους τὰς προειρημένας γεωργῆσαι. τούτου δὲ γεγηρακός Αἰόλον τὸν Ἰππότου μετὰ τινων παραβαλόντα εἰς τὴν Λιπάραν τὴν τοῦ Λιπάρου θυγατέρα γῆμαι Κυάνην· καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων πολιτεύεσθαι ποιήσας ἐβασίλευσε τῆς νήσου. τῷ δὲ Λιπάρῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιθυμοῦντι συγκατεσκεύασεν αὐτῷ τοὺς περὶ τὸ Σύρρεντον τόπους, ὅπου βασιλεύσας καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς τυχὼν ἐτελεύτησε· ταφεῖς δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τιμῶν ἔτυχεν ἡρωικῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. ὁ δ' Αἰόλος οὗτός ἐστι πρὸς ὃν μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα κατὰ τὴν πλάνην ἀφικέσθαι.

We are told that the islands of Aeolus were uninhabited in ancient times, but that later Liparus, as he was called, the son of Auson the king, was overcome by his brothers who rebelled against him, and securing some warships and soldiers he fled from Italy to the island, which received the name Lipara after him; on it he founded the city which bears his name and brought under cultivation the other islands mentioned before. And when Liparus had already come to old age, Aeolus, the son of Hippotes, came to Lipara with certain companions and married Cyane, the daughter of Liparus; and after he had formed a government in which his followers and the natives shared equally he became king over the island. To Liparus, who had a longing for Italy, Aeolus gave his aid in securing for him the regions around Surrentum, where he became king and, after winning great esteem, ended his days; and after he had been accorded a magnificent funeral he received at the hands of the natives honours equal to those offered to the heroes. This is the Aeolus to whom, the myth relates, Odysseus came in the course of his wanderings.³⁰

Here, Diodorus relates the myth that Aeolus Hippotades and his followers arrived at Lipari, peacefully integrated with Liparus' colony through marriage and shared governance, and then attended to the burial of the

³⁰ Trans. Oldfather (1933).

previous king, offering Liparus a splendid ceremony in which he attained heroic honors.³¹ At 5.9 discussed above, Diodorus related the historical account that an *anepsios* of Aeolus Hippotades (Pentathlus, albeit dead) and his followers arrived at Lipari, were warmly welcomed, and peacefully integrated with Aeolus' colony though shared settlement. Given the congruency of these two stories, it is not out of the realm of consideration that, in turn, behind a Stesichorean composition which discusses a careful burial by an *anepsios* of Aeolus Hippotades might lurk the near-contemporary supersession of the so-called Aeolid line in Lipari by the arrival of Pentathlus' followers.

One more piece of evidence suggests that these are the strategies Pentathlus and his relatives were marshaling in an attempt to legitimize their settlements. Given Pentathlus' initial attempt to settle on the borders of Elymian territory near Segesta, it perhaps should not be too surprising to discover that Servius (*ad Aen.* 1.550) thinks a nobleman named Hippotes is the grandfather of the eponymous Segestus:

Cum Laomedon promissam murorum mercedem Neptuno et Apollini denegasset, Neptunus iratus Troiae inmisit cetos quod eam vastaret. unde Apollo consultus, cum et ipse irasceret, contraria respondit dicens, obiciendas puellas nobiles beluae. quod cum fieret timens Hippotes quidam nobilis filiae Egestae, cum Laomedontis regis Hesiona iam esset orta seditione religata, inpositam eam navi misit quo fors tulisset. haec ad Siciliam delata a Crimisso fluvio, quem Crinismus Vergilius poetica licentia vocat, converso in ursum vel canem compressa edidit Acesten, qui ex matris nomine civitatem Troianis condidit, quae hodie Segesta nominatur.

When Laomedon refused payment for the walls which Neptune and Apollo had built, Neptune in anger sent sea-monsters against Troy to destroy it. When he consulted with Apollo, since he was also angry, he responded to the contrary, saying that noble girls should be sacrificed to a whale. When this came about, Hippotes, a certain noble who feared for his daughter Egesta (since Hesiona had already been bound at the outbreak of a quarrel with the king Laomedon), sent her on a ship that would take her away. She was brought down to Sicily and gave birth to Acestes after being 'detained' by the Crimissus river (Vergil with poetic license calls it Crinissus), which turned into a bear or a dog. Acestes founded a city for the Trojans named after his mother, which today is called Segesta.

I believe that it is not mere coincidence that Hippotes, to borrow a line from *Visa*, was everywhere Pentathlus wanted to be – whether Syme, Segesta,

³¹ On the myths of Aeolus and Liparus in the islands that bear their names, see Sammartano (1996). The name of Cyane, the daughter of Liparus whom Aeolus Hippotades marries, points to Syracusan interests at some point in the development of the story.

or Lipari. All of this would make the adventure of Pentathlus and his Cnidian-Rhodian crew the origin of a story of Xuthus and his immediate ancestors, one that asserted early sixth-century Dorian claims to the Aeolian Islands and, through them, to the Xuthian region of eastern Sicily.

Hesiod and Athens

The relative placement of the *Catalogue's* genealogy of Xuthus after the one popularized by Stesichorus and Pentathlus has already been determined; it remains to be considered why the poet or poets of the *Catalogue* would have felt it necessary to put forward a completely different, Hellenic, Ionian narrative of the relatively minor character of Xuthus around, say, the mid to late sixth century at Athens.

From what is known of Athens' commercial relations with Sicily at this time, there are good indications that they and others considered it an island worth contending for. Let us recall that 580 not only marked the Cnidian-Rhodian attempt of Pentathlus to colonize western Sicily, but also saw the colonization of Agragas by Geloans and Rhodians: acts which brought almost the entirety of south-central Sicily under Dorian control.³² This rapid expansionism threatened almost everyone else's interests, from non-Greek Sicilians to non-Dorian Sicilians, and these worries may have been held beyond Sicily as well. Yet, while Corinthian pottery predominates in Sicily beginning in the eighth century, two important challenges to its commercial dominance start to clash in the middle of the sixth. The first are so-called Rhodian wares, of which more than half come from the period 640–580.³³ The second are Athenian wares, which begin in Sicily around 580 and are dominant throughout the island by 550, replacing both Corinthian and Rhodian.³⁴ Adding to the sense of unrest and change, troubles in Asia Minor during the sixth century were sending refugees westward in droves, leading not only to east Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean, but also to traditions about individual immigrants like Pythagoras, Epicharmus,

³² De Miro (1956); Orlandini (1962); Bonacasa (1992).

³³ A certain proportion of the 'Rhodian' pottery may come from elsewhere in the East Greek region, and/or be the result of local Geloan imitations, though contact with the region of Rhodes is further attested through direct import of other plastic arts: cf. Adamesteanu (1953) and (1956); Rizza and De Miro (1985) 140–69; Cook (1992) 109, 138, 295–7; Panvini (1996) 38–42, 66–9; Greaves (2002) 89–92. I am grateful to Jonathan Hall for raising this issue at the conference, and to Franco De Angelis for references.

³⁴ Cf. Boardman (1980) 177–8.

Xenophanes, and Scythes, and to waves of displaced craftsmen influencing architecture and the plastic arts.³⁵

Our first indication of Athens' need to assert a non-Dorian Xuthus, besides its increasing commercial interest in dislodging Corinthian, Rhodian, and Acragantine economic and territorial claims to Sicily during the mid sixth century, comes immediately after the fall of the Peisistratid tyranny. In revenge for its aid to the Spartans in attacking Attica, Athens attacked Chalcis on Euboea and sent 4,000 settlers to hold cleruchies there in the year 506 (Hdt. 5.77). Thus, the numerous references to the role of Xuthus and his family in the settlement of Euboea and Boeotia connected to the *Catalogue's* Hellenic or Ionian or Chalcidic myth of Xuthus are presumably from the period when Athens had interests in edging out Dorian interests in Sicily and was trying to project into myth their justifications for later cleruchizing the island of Euboea. So, for example, a son of Xuthus named Hellops was eponym of a minor Euboean locality named Hellopia, sometimes also considered the name of the entire island.³⁶ Xuthus' "son" Ion himself founded and governed a Euboean city named Ionia (Σ Eur. *Phoen.* 208). His other sons Cothus and Aeclus together are said to be founders of the city of Eleutheris in Boeotia (Steph. Byz. s.v. Eleutheris = Theopompus *FGrH* 115F195), and they were also considered the settlers of Chalcis and Eretria (Strab. 10.1.8) or Cerinthus and Eretria ([Scym.] 576), respectively. The heavy-handed colonialist implications of the trick Cothus played on the children of Euboea further emphasize Athens' need for justificatory mythmaking in the sixth century.

Given West's placement of some or all of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* in Athens in the second half of the sixth century, the tradition of the Ionian Xuthus, then, serves a double-function in terms of disrupting Dorian territorial claims to Sicily. First of all, it makes Xuthus the son of Hellen, breaking his connections to Dorian Heraclid ancestry and locating him spatially in nearby Euboea rather than distant Sicily and/or Syme. Secondly, it makes Xuthus the father of Ion, victor of Euboea, and King of Athens, asserting Athenian control not only over the Ionian race but also over Chalcis and Eretria and, through them, establishing second-order claims to the Ionian regions of eastern Sicily colonized by Euboeans. In other words, if Xuthus is busy establishing Athenian claims over Euboea and, through the Euboeans,

³⁵ On east Greek colonization in the western Mediterranean, see Bats (1994) and Anello (1999); on individuals, see Ganci (2000) and Vanotti (2004), and for Epicharmus, Willi (this volume) and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (this volume); on craftsmen, see Barletta (1983).

³⁶ Hellops was Xuthus' son or grandson (via father Ion): Strabo 10.1.3 (here also brother of Cothus and Aeclus) and Steph. Byz. s.v. Hellopia.

to Sicily, then he cannot be spending much time in Sicily establishing claims directly there for the Dorians. The contest for Xuthus' identity is well under way.

Aeschylus and Aetna

As it turns out, anyone looking to increase Ionian access to and/or prosperity in Sicily after the middle of the sixth century would have good cause to be worried. In the final years of the century, Gela – having secured its western border through the foundation of Acragas – began to direct its energies towards the military conquest of eastern Sicily, particularly against towns with non-Dorian heritages, whether Chalcidian or native.³⁷ Herodotus records successful campaigns against Callipolis, Naxos, Zancle, Leontini, and the native town of Hybla (7.154):

Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρους τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλης ἑπτὰ ἔτεα, ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελῶν, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μοναρχίην Ἱπποκράτης, Κλεάνδρου ἑὼν ἀδελφεός. Ἐχοντος δὲ Ἱπποκράτους τὴν τυραννίδα ὁ Γέλων, ἑὼν Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱεροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταίου ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἱπποκράτους. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς Ἱππου εἶναι Ἱππαρχος· πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἱπποκράτους καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκοσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συχνούς ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι πολέμοις ἑὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος. Τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολίων πασέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων οὐδεμία ἀπέφυγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἱπποκράτους.

After the death of Cleander, the son of Pantares – he was murdered by Sabyllus of Gela after ruling Gela for seven years – power passed to his brother Hippocrates; and Gelon, the descendant of the priest Telines, was, with many others including Aenesidemus son of Pataecus, a member of his bodyguard. Gelon was soon to be General of Cavalry, for he had served with very great distinction under Hippocrates in various battles and sieges against Callipolis, Naxos, Zancle, Leontini, Syracuse, and a number of native peoples besides. Of the towns here mentioned not one escaped subjection at the hands of Hippocrates except Syracuse.

Many of these towns fell to Gelon, a man who would soon become tyrant of Gela and change the course of Sicilian history. Herodotus had provided Gelon's lineage in the previous chapter (7.153):

Τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκῆτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ, ἦν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίω κειμένης· ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλης ὑπὸ Λινδίων τε τῶν ἐκ Ρόδου καὶ

³⁷ Dunbabin (1948) 376–409; Luraghi (1994) 145–56.

Ἀντιφήμεν οὐκ ἐλείφθη. Ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱεροφάνται τῶν Χθονίων Θεῶν διετέλεον ἔοντες, Τηλίνεω ἑνὸς τεο τῶν προγόνων κτησαμένου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

Gelon's ancestor, who first settled at Gela, came from the island of Telus, off Triopium, and when the settlement at Gela was made by Antiphemus and the Lindians of Rhodes, he took part in the expedition. In the course of time his descendants became priests of the Earth Goddesses, an office which they have continued to hold ever since Telines came into possession of it.

It turns out that Gelon's family, the Deinomenids, originally came from the island of Telus, off Triopium, and later took part in the first settlement of Gela made by the Rhodians and Cretans in 688.³⁸ Thus, the ancestor of the Deinomenid family and the settlers of Gela came from exactly the same region as Pentathlus and his settlers, who (I believe) had been largely responsible for localizing both the companions of Hippotes and Xuthus himself in those same two places: the old world of the eastern Aegean and the new world of eastern Sicily. This affiliation should not be overlooked when – below – the Deinomenid family uses the Xuthus tradition to make its own ethnic claims to the territories of northern and eastern Sicily.

According to Diodorus, in the year 476 Gelon's younger brother and successor Hieron, now tyrant of Syracuse, decided to found a new town so that he might have the honor of being an oikist before he died and so that he might have "a noteworthy and ready-at-hand source of assistance for any future necessity" (11.49):

Ἰέρων δὲ τοὺς τε Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀναστήσας, ἰδίους οἰκήτορας ἀπέστειλεν, ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου πεντακισχιλίου ἀθροίσας, ἐκ δὲ Συρακουσῶν ἄλλους τοσούτους προσθεῖς· καὶ τὴν μὲν Κατάνην μετωνόμασεν Αἴτην, τὴν δὲ χώραν οὐ μόνον τὴν Καταναίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου προσθεῖς κατεκληρούχησε, μυρίου πληρώσας οἰκήτορας. τοῦτο δ' ἐπραξε σπεύδων ἅμα μὲν ἔχειν βοήθειαν ἐτοιμὴν ἀξιόλογον πρὸς τὰς ἐπιούσας χρεῖας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μυριάνδρου πόλεως τιμὰς ἔχειν ἥρωϊκὰς. τοὺς δὲ Ναξίους καὶ τοὺς Καταναίους ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων ἀνασταθέντας μετώκισεν εἰς τοὺς Λεοντίνους, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων προσέταξε κατοικεῖν τὴν πόλιν.

Hieron drove out the Naxians and Catanians from their cities and put his own settlers in them, having gathered 5,000 from the Peloponnesus and added the same amount from Syracuse. He changed the name of Catana to Aetna, and he divided into lots not only the land of Catana, but also much of the neighboring land in addition, until he had paid the ten thousand settlers in full. He did this in the hopes both of having substantial aid ready for any future need, and of having heroic

³⁸ See Kesteman (1970); Miller (1970) 49–53; Luraghi (1994) 120–4.

honors bestowed upon him by the new city of 10,000 men. He resettled the Naxians and Catanians driven out of their fatherland in Leontini, and ordered them to live in the city with its original inhabitants.

But it wasn't really a new town, for what he did was deport the citizens of the Chalcidian towns of Naxos and Catana and relocate them in nearby Leontini, where he could keep a close eye on them.³⁹ He repopulated Naxos and Catana with 10,000 settlers, half from the Dorian Peloponnese and half from Dorian Syracuse.⁴⁰ As a finishing touch, he renamed Catana Aetna and installed his young son Deinomenes there as future king.⁴¹ In his work for Hieron and other members of his court, Pindar had numerous occasions to celebrate his patron's new homeland. We hear of a hyporchema in honor of the foundation of the city, famous for being parodied by Aristophanes in the *Birds*.⁴² Aetna's cults – for Zeus Aetnaeus and for Demeter and Persephone – are singled out for praise (*Ol.* 6.92–96). Hieron himself, as well as his son-in-law and *generalissimo* Chromius, were both proclaimed citizens of Aetna at subsequent athletic contests, showing us that malleability of civic affiliation could obtain not only for the Ionian deportees of Sicily but also for the Dorian elites responsible for their condition in the first place.⁴³ But the jewel in the crown of Hieron's Aetna is Pindar's praise of it in *Pythian* 1. In the middle of the poem, the poet bids himself compose a hymn for the new king of Aetna, Hieron's young son Deinomenes (*Pyth.* 1.60–5):

ἄγ' ἔπειτ' Αἴτνας βασιλεῖ φίλιον ἐξεύρωμεν ὕμνον·
τῷ πόλιν κείναν θεοδμάτῳ σὺν ἔλευθερίῳ
Ἵλλιδος στάθμας ἱέρων ἐν νόμοις ἔκτισσε· θέλοντι δὲ Παμφύλου
καὶ μὲν Ἡρακλεῖδαν ἔκγονοι
ὄχθαις ὑπο Ταυγέτου ναίοντες αἰεὶ μένειν τεθμοῖσιν ἐν Αἰγίμιῳ
Δωριεῖς.

Come then, let us fashion a lovely song for the King of Aetna. Hieron founded that city for him with god-fashioned freedom according to the laws of Hyllus' rule. The offspring of Pamphylus and the Heracleidae want always to live beneath the flanks of Taygetus and remain, in the customs of Aegimius, Dorians.

³⁹ Luraghi (1994) 335–46; Basta Donzelli (1996).

⁴⁰ Demand (1990) 50–2; Vattuone (1994); Vanotti (1995).

⁴¹ On the poetics associated with the foundation, see Dougherty (1993) 83–102.

⁴² Dougherty (1993) 97–8; Luraghi (1995) 60–2; Smith (2009) 384–7.

⁴³ For Dorian elites whose civic affiliation seems to have been affected by their relationship with Deinomenid interests, see Luraghi (1994) 298–9.

Hieron has built for Deinomenes a city which is to function under the “laws of the rule of Hyllus,” because “the descendants of Pamphylus and Heracles living on the slopes of Taygetus always remain Dorians under the institutions of Aegimius.” Given the ethnic transplantations on which this “new” city was based, a stronger statement as to the specifically Dorian-Heraclid identity of Hieron’s Aetna could hardly have been made.⁴⁴

But how does this neo-Dorian policy in eastern Sicily relate to Xuthus? According to a passage from the Aeschylean *Vita* which we have little reason to doubt, Hieron also invited Aeschylus to Sicily to produce the *Aetnaeae* as an auspice of good fortune for the inhabitants of this city (*Vit. Aesch.* 9): ἐλθὼν τοίνυν εἰς Σικελίαν, Ἰέρωνος τότε τὴν Αἴτνην κτίζοντος, ἐπεδείξατο τὰς Αἴτνας, οἰωνιζόμενος βίον ἀγαθὸν τοῖς συνοικοῦσι τὴν πόλιν “Then, coming to Sicily at the time when Hieron was founding Aetna, he produced the *Aetnaeae* in hopes of a good life for those who were founding the city.”⁴⁵ The recently discovered hypothesis to this play attests to the remarkable nature of its structure, the difficult dramaturgical implications of which have already been explored.⁴⁶ At face value, however, in the manner of the *Eumenides* gone amok, the action of the *Aetnaeae* seems to have taken place in five different locations. It starts at Aetna, but then moves to Xuthia, then back to Aetna, then to Leontini, and finally to Syracuse. Given that the hypothesis not only explicitly mentions Xuthia, but also explicitly differentiates it from its neighbor Leontini, we can safely assume that Xuthia served as an independent setting within the play.⁴⁷ Thus the scene of the *Aetnaeae* bounces back and forth across the very Leontinian plain once dominated in large degree by the Chalcidian settlements of Leontini, Naxos, and Catana. Now, however, through a series of deliberate ethnico-political campaigns, control of the area had been handed over to the Dorian Deinomenids of

⁴⁴ Kirsten (1941); Fraenkel (1954); Harrell (2002) 444–7.

⁴⁵ On Aeschylus in Sicily and the performance of the *Aetnaeae*, see Fraenkel (1954), Cataudella (1963), Herington (1967), Corbato (1996), and Poli-Palladini (2001) with Lefkowitz (1981) 67–74, and especially Boshier (this volume). On the slight variations in our sources for the play’s title, see Radt’s summary with the discussions of Cataudella (1963) 394, Corbato (1996) 61–2, and Poli-Palladini (2001) 311–13.

⁴⁶ Taplin (1977) 416–18; Poli-Palladini (2001) 318–19.

⁴⁷ As to where Aeschylus might have thought the location of Xuthia was, our one other solid fragment of the play (fr. 6 Radt) mentions the native Sicilian cult of the Palici, noteworthy for its natural twin bubbling calderas, also located on the fringes of the Leontinian plain; see Croon (1952b), Cusumano (1990), Meurant (1998), and now Maniscalco and McConnell (2003). Connecting this fragment with the hypothesis, La Rosa (1974) 157–63 has suggested that Xuthia should be associated with the necropolis of Molino della Badia near the shrine of the Palici. Cassola (1953) 287–8 suggests the town of Sortino, near which is a hill called “Monte Suzio”. Drawing a line around these places, though, produces a situation not at all incompatible with the description of Xuthia as the *chóra* around Leontini.

Syracuse and their supporters. In other words, I do not see it as likely that the Xuthian setting of the *Aetnaeae*'s second act was thought to be named in the Ionian tradition after the son of Hellen, but rather was a counter-Ionian geo-poetic claim by the tyrant of Syracuse to Xuthus' Heraclid lineage and Dorian heritage. Hieron's family hailed from the same part of the world as Pentathlus', and after the Athenian attempt to pull Xuthus away from Sicily, Hieron reconnects with the genealogy of his '*paesano*' Pentathlus to pull Xuthus back to Sicily where he 'belongs'.⁴⁸

Euripides and the Sicilian expedition

The next step, and my last step, is to return to what Euripides does with Xuthus in the *Ion*. Besides the overall plot device revising Ion's parentage, the significant moment for us comes at line 292, where we are given Xuthus' genealogy – he was born “of Aeolus and from Zeus” (289–92):

Ιων πόσις δὲ τίς σ' ἔγημ' Ἀθηναίων, γύναι;
 Κρ. οὐκ ἄστος ἀλλ' ἐπακτὸς ἐξ ἄλλης χθονός.
 Ιων τίς; εὐγενῇ νιν δεῖ πεφυκέναι τινά.
 Κρ. Ξοῦθος, πεφυκὼς Αἰόλου Διὸς τ' ἄπο.

ION: Which husband of the Athenians married you, woman?

CREUSA: Not a local at all, but a recent arrival from another land.

ION: Which one? It's necessary for him to be well-born.

CREUSA: He's Xuthus, son of Aeolus, from Zeus' line.

Even allowing Διὸς τ' ἄπο to put Zeus anywhere in the genealogy before Aeolus (i.e., not necessarily in the position of Xuthus' immediate grandfather), this line presents us with an inexorable problem: no matter how hard you look, Zeus is nowhere to be found in the lineage of the Pseudo-Hesiodic, Ionian, Hellenic Xuthus, who presumably traces his ancestry back through Hellen, Deucalion and Pyrrha, Prometheus and Epimetheus, and finally to Gaea and Uranus.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the Sicilian or Dorian or Heraclid Xuthus does indeed have Zeus as an ancestor, through Aeolus to Hippotes to Heracles, son of Zeus.⁵⁰ In other words, I believe that Euripides quietly but clearly signals his cooption not only of the Pseudo-Hesiodic Xuthus but

⁴⁸ For further on Hieron's attempts to connect his family to the foundation of Aetna, see also Vanotti (1994).

⁴⁹ The sources for this genealogy are in agreement: Apollod. 1.7.2 and 1.46; Ap. Rhod. 3.1086; Ov. *Met.* 1.390; Hyg. *Fab.* 142 and 155; Strab. 9.5.23.

⁵⁰ Paus. 2.4.3 inserts Phylas and Antiochus between Heracles and Hippotes, but the descent from Zeus remains the same.

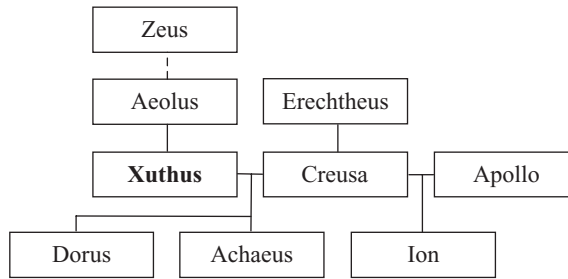


Chart 6.4 The family of Xuthus according to Euripides' *Ion*

also, perhaps primarily, of the western Greek, Dorian, Heraclid Xuthus by including Zeus as the specific identifying differentia of his genealogy in this line. (See Chart 6.4.)

And finally, why this focus on the plains of Leontini at the end of the fifth century, during the Peloponnesian War? I have already signaled my intention to connect Euripides' handling of Xuthus to the Sicilian Expedition. How closely these two things can be tied together should rely on the dating of the *Ion* itself. Unfortunately, we cannot be exact. Most, however, agree in placing it somewhere between 420 and 410.⁵¹ In this chronological framework, we should recall the specific events that led, according to Thucydides, to Athens' involvement in Sicily (3.86):

οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Λεοντῖνοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις καθέστανσαν. ξύμμαχοι δὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν πλὴν Καμαρινάων αἱ ἄλλαι Δωρίδες πόλεις, αἵπερ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πρῶτον ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου ξυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν, οὐ μέντοι ξυνεπολέμησάν γε, τοῖς δὲ Λεοντίνοις αἱ Χαλκιδικαὶ πόλεις καὶ Καμάρινα· τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Λοκροὶ μὲν Συρακοσίων ἦσαν, Ῥηγῖνοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντίνων. ἐς οὖν τὰς Ἀθήνας πέμψαντες οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι κατὰ τε παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν πείθουσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμψαι σφίσι ναῦς· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων τῆς τε γῆς εἵργοντο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος προφάσει, βουλόμενοι δὲ μήτε σῖτον ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἄγεσθαι αὐτόθεν πρόπτεράν τε ποιούμενοι εἰ σφίσι δυνατὰ εἶη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι.

The Syracusans and the Leontinians were at war with one another. All the Dorian cities (except for Camarina), being part of an alliance with the Lacedaemonians since the beginning of the war (although they had not yet taken part in the fighting), were allies of the Syracusans, while the Chalcidian cities and Camarina were allies of the Leontinians. The Italian Locrians were with the Syracusans, while the people of

⁵¹ See the discussions of Conacher (1959) 26–9; Devine and Stephens (1981); Lee (1997) 40; Zacharia (2003) 3–7; Swift (2008) 28–30.

Rhegium were with the Leontinians on account of their kinship. And so the allies of the Leontinians sent an embassy to Athens and persuaded them – by means of their ancient alliance and the fact that they were all Ionians – to send ships, for they were being driven from land and sea by the Syracusans. The Athenians sent them under the pretext of kinship, but really because they did not want grain to be taken from Sicily to the Peloponnese and because they wanted to see if it would be possible for affairs in Sicily to be brought under their control.

In 427, ambassadors from Chalcidian Leontini (including the orator Gorgias, if we are to believe Diodorus 12.53) arrived in Athens to complain about their treatment at the hands of the Dorian Syracusans. Thucydides specifically says that their two arguments for why Athens should become involved were their *παλαιὰν συμμαχίαν* and *ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν* – their “ancient alliance” and “because they were [also] Ionian.” A dozen years later, when Athens is contemplating a second invasion of Sicily, they are persuaded by the people of Segesta, who argue that if Syracuse is not checked for attacking Leontini, they will soon become powerful enough to join the Spartans as fellow Dorians in destroying Athens (Thuc. 6.6):

ὥστε τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ Λάχηςτος καὶ τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου Λεοντίνων οἱ Ἑγεσ-
ταῖοι συμμαχίαν ἀναμνησκόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐδέοντο σφίσι ναῦς πέμψαντας
ἐπαμῦναι, λέγοντες ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ κεφάλαιον, εἰ Συρακόσιοι Λεοντίνους τε
ἀναστήσαντες ἀτιμώρητοι γενήσονται καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔτι συμμάχους αὐτῶν
διαφθείροντες αὐτοὶ τὴν ἅπασαν δύναμιν τῆς Σικελίας σχήσουσι, κίνδυνον εἶναι
μή ποτε μεγάλη παρασκευὴ Δωριῆς τε Δωριεῦσι κατὰ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ ἅμα ἄποικοι
τοῖς ἐκπέμψασι Πελοποννησίοις βοηθήσαντες καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν συγκαθέλ-
ωσιν.

The result of this was that the Segestans reminded the Athenians of the alliance concluded with the Leontinians in the time of Laches and the earlier war and asked them to send ships to their aid. They used many arguments, but chief among them was that if the Syracusans were to go unpunished for depopulating Leontini and by continuing to wear down their remaining allies gain control of all Sicily, then there was a danger that they, as Dorians respecting the kinship of their fellow Dorians and as kinsmen of the Peloponnesians who sent them out, would come to the aid of the Spartans and help them drag down Athens’ power.

The ethnic identity of the region around Leontini, threatened with takeover by and absorption into Dorian Syracuse, is singled out not once but twice by Thucydides as a prime pretext (at least) for Athens’ involvement in Sicily. For Euripides to come up with a play in this period that asserts not only Ion’s primacy over Dorus but also lays claim to the contested figure of Xuthus, eponym of the eastern Sicilian plains, by reasserting his mainland heritage

and placing him squarely (albeit however inorganically) into the dynastic succession of Athenian kings was, I hope to have shown by now, an act that took place in a context far more ancient and wide-ranging than merely the intersection of mainland poetic traditions with Athenian tragedy.

All this is not to say that Ionianism or autochthony or anti-Dorianism or anti-Euboeanism don't all have their place as historical influences on what Euripides might have been up to in this play. But if we treat Xuthus the same as we treat Dorus and Ion and assume that the genealogical assertions and revisions of all three represent Athenocentric ideology and claims of military and ethnic superiority, then not only do we see that Euripides' *Ion* drew just as much on the counter-claims of Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* and other earlier local Sicilian traditions as it did on the mainland *Catalogue* tradition, but also that the character of Xuthus represents a continuing poetic locus for contesting the ever-malleable identity of the fertile plains of eastern Sicily.

7 | A Theseus outside Athens

Dionysius I of Syracuse and tragic self-presentation

ANNE DUNCAN

Dionysius I of Syracuse has had his detractors and apologists, both ancient and modern, but one thing virtually all of them agree upon is that the tragedies he wrote were wretched. This estimation of the tyrant's literary abilities comes down to us despite the fact that he won first prize at the Lenaia in 367 BC. We have only a few fragments of his verses; however, there are rich ancient anecdotal, comic, and philosophical traditions about Dionysius, which made him, in later ages, a byword for both a paranoid despot and a bad poet. The evidence is too slim to make a secure pronouncement on the quality of his poetry, but it is copious enough to suggest that there were reasons other than literary quality for the anecdotal tradition about his bad poetry. I will argue that Dionysius undertook a concerted campaign to present himself, both onstage and off, as a certain kind of tragic king; to that end, he wrote innovative historical and even autobiographical tragedies, as well as possibly a history of his own reign, and he adopted certain stage properties in his self-presentation. That this campaign met with resistance, mockery, and even abject failure in some quarters does not make it less important or influential; indeed, it seems to have influenced Alexander's self-presentation, and thus the successive course of Hellenistic kingship.

To make this argument, I will begin with the ancient anecdotal tradition, including the comic and philosophical responses to Dionysius. I will then survey modern scholarship on Dionysius, which reacts against the ancient anecdotal tradition to some extent but leaves certain assumptions about his poetry unchallenged. Then I will turn to Dionysius' extant fragments and show that, whatever contemporary or later hostile sources said about them, they are evidence of an innovative mode of self-presentation by the king/poet, a mode which is consonant with the presentation of heroic king figures from certain canonical fifth-century tragedies. Finally, I will suggest some conclusions about the influence this mode of self-presentation as a tragic king had on the development of later kingship.

The ancient anecdotal tradition

In the anecdotal tradition, Dionysius is ridiculed as having gone to absurd and vicious lengths to protect himself from assassination. Cicero (*Tusc.* 5.20–3) claims that he required his wives to cross a drawbridge over a moat to enter his bedroom, where they had to be strip-searched; that he allowed only his daughters to barber him, eventually requiring that they singe his hair with red-hot walnut shells rather than cutting it with a sharp razor; that he addressed his subjects from a high tower; and that he forbade anyone to wear weapons in his presence, going so far as to have his *eromenos* and another young man executed, because when he handed his sword to his *eromenos* at the beginning of a ball game, the other young man jested that Dionysius trusted his *eromenos*, at least, with his life, to which the *eromenos* responded with the barest hint of a smile.¹ On a more serious note, it is also in Cicero's account of Dionysius I that we find the story of the Sword of Damocles (*Tusc.* 5.21), where Dionysius graphically illustrated the pressures of kingship to a flatterer by seating him on a throne beneath a sword that was suspended by a single horsehair. Plato's portrait of the tyrant at the end of *Republic* 8 as a paranoid, isolated despot wholly dependent on mercenaries and flatterers is thought to be based on Dionysius.²

In keeping with this portrait of the Cruel Tyrant, he is alleged to have mistreated poets and intellectuals at his court who dared to criticize his poetry, such as the dithyrambist Philoxenus, the tragedian Antiphon, the historian Philistus, and Plato. Various sources recount that Dionysius asked Philoxenus to critique his verses and that Philoxenus either verbally criticized them or physically crossed out every single line, whereupon Dionysius sent him to the stone quarries.³ A variant of this story (*Athen.* 1.7a) suggests that the reason for Philoxenus' punishment was his affair with Dionysius' *hetaira* Galataea; upon being sent to the quarry, Athenaeus recounts, Philoxenus wrote his dithyramb *Cyclops*, in which Polyphemus clumsily woos Galataea with bad poetry while threatening Odysseus, whom he has

¹ The *eromenos* (literally "beloved") was the junior partner in a Greek pederastic relationship, usually a teenager or young man; Dionysius would have been the *erastes* ("lover"), the adult male and senior partner in the relationship.

² Finley (1979) ch. 6; Sanders (1979) 208–9 and n. 5; Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 160; Caven (1990) 167–9.

³ Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 2.1.334c (Dionysius threw Philoxenus into the quarry for critiquing his tragedies); Aelian *VH* 12.44 (the quarry where Philoxenus composed the *Cyclops* is named after him); Tzetzes *Chil.* 5.152–68 (Dionysius threw Philoxenus into the quarry for critiquing his tragedies); cf. Lucian *Ind.* 15 (Dionysius threw Philoxenus into the quarry for laughing at his tragedies), *Cal.* 14 (Philoxenus critiqued Dionysius' tragedies).

imprisoned.⁴ Diodorus Siculus (15.6–7) adds that Dionysius was prevailed upon to pardon Philoxenus and bring him back to a symposium, at which Dionysius read more of his verses; when he asked Philoxenus' opinion of them again, Philoxenus simply turned to the guards and said, "Take me back to the quarry!"⁵ Antiphon, meanwhile, supposedly met with a harsher fate: he was executed, ps.-Plutarch (*X orat.* 833b–c) and Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* 1.15) claim, either for condoning tyrannicide (by making a quip about Harmodius and Aristogeiton) or for laughing at Dionysius' verses.⁶ Philistus, who assisted Dionysius' rise to power on Sicily and wrote a history of his reign entitled *Peri Dionysiou*, was supposedly banished as part of a purge Dionysius instituted at his court after his humiliating failure at the Olympics of 388. According to Diodorus (14.109, 15.7), Dionysius entered his verses in the musical competition at the Olympics, where they received an initially favorable reception due to the fine voices of the actors hired to recite them – that is, until the audience made out the words and began hooting with laughter. Dionysius' failure at the Olympics threw him into a paranoid, homicidal, quasi-mad fit in which he executed or banished many intellectuals, including Philistus.⁷ As for Plato, Diodorus (15.6–7) recounts that Dionysius welcomed the philosopher to his court, encouraged him to engage in philosophical-style frank, free speech, and then sold Plato into slavery when he offended him. (The story has a happy ending of sorts: Plato's friends were supposedly able to purchase and free him, and he made his escape from Sicily.)

⁴ Scholars disagree on whether Philoxenus' *Cyclops* actually lampooned the tyrant, or was merely assumed to have done so by a later anecdotal tradition (see, e.g., Σ Ar. *Plut.* 290; Ath. 1.7a). Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 45–8 and Suess (1966) 305–6 seem to accept the claim that the *Cyclops* character was a cipher for Dionysius; Hordern (1999) argues that the *Cyclops* was certainly comic, but may not have been originally intended as satirical of Dionysius; Webster (1970) 20–1, 28–9 and Hunter (2004) 116 are both cautious about pronouncing final judgment. See also Sanders (1987) 15–21; Caven (1990) 223–4.

⁵ Suess (1966) 305 supplies the extra punchline that Dionysius replied, "No" and continued reading, but Diodorus does not mention this detail.

⁶ Ps.-Plutarch describes him as the orator Antiphon, although he then mentions that the orator also wrote tragedies of his own; Philostratus describes him as the orator Antiphon, but talks about him disparaging (διεφράλλει) Dionysius' verses. However, the orator Antiphon was executed in 411 and Dionysius' reign did not begin until 404, so it must be the tragedian Antiphon who is meant in both sources.

⁷ There is more to Diodorus' Olympics story: Dionysius' many impressive four-horse chariot teams also fared disastrously after a promising start, and the ship carrying the competitors back to Sicily was wrecked off the coast of Tarentum; the survivors claimed that Dionysius' terrible poetry jinxed the entire expedition to the Olympics. See Caven (1990) 144–5, 169–75, who argues that the real story behind Dionysius' stereotypically tyrannical "mad fit" and purge of intellectuals is that he was reacting to a conspiracy against his life. On Philistus' banishment, see Finley (1979) 75–6; Sanders (1979) 215; Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 160.

In the comic tradition, Eubulus' *Dionysius*, Ephippus' *Homoioi*, and Strattis' *Atalanta* and *Zopyros Perikaiomenos* all apparently ridiculed the tyrant as a bad poet. Eubulus' *Dionysius* seems to have been a send-up of the tyrant's literary pretensions and may have included a parody of the dressing-scene with Agathon and Euripides in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae*, with Dionysius appearing as the Agathon figure. The fragments of Eubulus' comedy include a barb that the only feature of Euripides' poetry that Dionysius was able to preserve was his sigmatism, as well as a few lines on Dionysius' preference for the company of flatterers over free men.⁸ Ephippus' *Homoioi* has a character wish a list of negative consequences for himself (apparently if he does not fulfill the conditions of an oath), beginning with "May I be forced to learn Dionysius' tragedies by heart."⁹ Strattis' *Atalanta* coined the term "Dionysio-beard-conflagration" (*Dionusokouropuronen*), while his *Zopyros Perikaiomenos* (a parody of Spintharos' tragedy or satyr play *Herakles Perikaiomenos*) seems to have cast Dionysius/Zopyros as Herakles and to have joked about singeing mustaches;¹⁰ both of Strattis' comedies undoubtedly served as a source for Cicero's story about the hot walnut shells. Philoxenus' dithyramb *Cyclops* may have poked fun at Dionysius by making the brutish and musically incompetent Cyclops resemble him; it was certainly regarded as a prime vehicle for ridicule of the tyrant by the later anecdotal tradition.¹¹

The comic tradition probably built on itself once it established Dionysius as a butt of ridicule, but Dionysius' own choices and life experiences at times provided fodder for mockery. His decision to write poetry was clearly unusual for someone in his position; this may have given rise to the anecdotes about him buying Aeschylus' writing tablets (Lucian *Ind.* 15) or buying Euripides' stylus, lyre, and writing tablets, then dedicating them in

⁸ See Hunter (2004) 45–56, 116–22; see also Suess (1966) 306–10.

⁹ Διονυσίου δὲ δράματ' ἐκμαθεῖν δέοι: Ephippus PCGF 16 (= Ath. 11.482d); see Webster (1970) 29; Ceccarelli (2004) 126. Csapo (2010a) 171–2 argues that this list of consequences is a series of positive rather than negative outcomes, claiming that all are connected with "sympotic bliss" and that the last consequence which is "may I furnish Euripides with winecups when I'm giving a feast," seems glamorous rather than negative. If he is correct, then we have in Ephippus a rare ancient source, which rates Dionysius' poetry as worthy of comparison with that of Euripides. It is clear from the context in Athenaeus that Athenaeus believes this passage in Ephippus to be a crescendo of disastrous outcomes (he argues that the Euripides in question must be other than the poet, most likely "an alcoholic or disreputable man" and thus that providing him with drink at a symposium would be a punishment, not a privilege). It may be that Athenaeus has mistaken the tone of the passage, influenced by the later tradition lampooning Dionysius' poetry – or it may be that Ephippus was just as influenced by this tradition as other, later sources. I am inclined to see it as of a piece with the hostile tradition.

¹⁰ Webster (1970) 29; Caven (1990) 223 disputes the attribution of the "beard" term to *Atalanta*.

¹¹ See n. 4 above.

temples of the Muses (*Vita Euripidis* 5).¹² A gesture that might be read as conventional piety in a poet who was a private citizen reads differently for the tyrant; he seems to be trying to buy (or pray for) literary talent. Plutarch (*De Alex. fort.* 2.5.338b–c) condemns and ridicules the hypocritical disconnect between Dionysius’ poetry and his real-life conduct: Dionysius caused the deaths of many citizens, including his own elderly mother’s death, yet he had the nerve to pen the line “Tyranny is the mother of injustice” (fr. 4) and to name his daughters Dikaiosune, Arete, and Sophrosune! Even Dionysius’ death was grist for the anecdotal mill, since he died immediately after his Lenaia victory (tragicomically) from binge drinking at his victory party; Diodorus Siculus (15.74) claims that his death thus fulfilled an oracle that foretold Dionysius would die after he defeated “his betters,” which Dionysius (tragicomically) had always misinterpreted to mean his military superiors the Carthaginians, causing him to accept losses in several crucial battles he could have won.

Modern scholarship

Thanks in large part to this anecdotal tradition, Dionysius I became a standard reference for the figure of The Tyrant in antiquity; for example, the second-century AD biographer Amyntianus added paired *Lives* of Dionysius and Domitian to Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*.¹³ Against the hostility of most ancient sources, therefore, most modern scholars’ assessments of Dionysius’ reign are self-consciously revisionist. There are detractors, such as Finley, who accepts at some level the ancient image of Dionysius as a self-absorbed, ruthless autocrat, even while he despairs of the moralizing biographical tradition and rejects the more obviously comic anecdotes about bedroom moats and hot walnut shells.¹⁴ But the majority of specialist studies, like those of Stroheker, Caven, and especially Sanders, have argued for a reassessment of Dionysius’ reign as less despotic and more measured than the ancient sources admit.¹⁵ Stroheker argues that Dionysius acted as

¹² See Sanders (1987) 1 and n. 1.

¹³ The *Lives* he wrote have not survived. See Caven (1990) 1.

¹⁴ Finley (1979) ch. 6; for a nuanced assessment of the difficulties of writing a history of Dionysius’ reign, see 74–5; for psychologizing statements about Dionysius as a megalomaniac, see 76–7, 83, 85.

¹⁵ Much scholarship on Dionysius I spends the bulk of its energy on source-criticism of Diodorus Siculus, our best source for Dionysius’ reign (Diod. Sic. 13.91–15.74), who relied on some combination of the earlier historians Ephorus, Philistus, Theopompus, and Timaeus for his account. Timaeus was widely regarded in antiquity as violently anti-tyrannical, while Philistus

a king, not as a tyrant;¹⁶ Caven depicts Dionysius as a realist pursuing absolute power in order to achieve a Homeric warrior's glory (*kleos*);¹⁷ Sanders sees Dionysius as an absolute ruler who wished to *be*, not merely to *seem*, an enlightened monarch. Thus, Sanders argues, Dionysius named his daughters for virtues out of idealism, not cynicism, and he banished Philoxenus out of a legitimate concern for the stability of his regime.¹⁸ These revisionist scholars argue that Dionysius pursued a program of more or less enlightened despotism that was willfully misunderstood by his political enemies and by the philosophers and comic poets in Athens, generating the hostile philosophical and comic traditions about Dionysius in the 380s.¹⁹ They also argue that Dionysius' win at the Lenaia in 367 with the tragedy *Ransom of Hector* was the result of a period of détente between Athens and Syracuse after the battle of Leuctra.²⁰

The few modern scholars who have attempted to evaluate Dionysius as a poet, most notably Olivieri, Suess, and Carpanelli, tend to be revisionists as well – at least up to a point. Olivieri finds parallels in other fifth- and fourth-century tragedians for the sentiments and word choices in Dionysius' fragments, making his poetry seem less eccentric and more mainstream.²¹ Suess and Carpanelli, on the other hand, focus on distinctive features of Dionysius' poetry, such as his playful etymologies or his mingling of tragic and comic elements, which, while mocked during his lifetime, could be seen as anticipating developments in Hellenistic poetry. In other words,

was seen, on the whole, as an apologist for Dionysius in particular and tyranny in general. Scholars disagree about these ancient evaluations of Diodorus' sources, as well as about which of these sources Diodorus relied upon for his account of Dionysius. (For example, Sanders (1981) argues, contrary to most other scholars, that Philistus was an objective, balanced historian in the mode of Thucydides and that Philistus, rather than Ephorus, was Diodorus' primary source.) They therefore disagree on how we should interpret various passages in Diodorus which seem to offer conflictingly positive or negative evaluations of Dionysius. The most recent summaries of the controversy are in the prefaces of Caven (1990) and, more tentatively, Sanders (1987); see also Stroheker (1958) ch. 1. For my purposes, Diodorus provides useful evidence of the anecdotal tradition about Dionysius; when I am concerned with historical reality rather than representation, I treat Diodorus with caution.

¹⁶ Stroheker (1958). ¹⁷ Caven (1990), esp. ch. 9, ch. 13.

¹⁸ Sanders (1987), (1991); Sanders (1981), (1979–80), and (1979) are earlier versions of chapters 1–3 in Sanders (1987). On the names of Dionysius' daughters: Sanders (1987) 2–3, 16, (1979–80) 65–6, 83. On Philoxenus: Sanders (1979–80) 73–5, 80–1, 83; (1987) 15–19, 55. Sanders' arguments, it must be said, take some questionable sources at face value and slide at times into special pleading; the argument that Philoxenus deserved his punishment because his affair with Galatea threatened the dynastic succession, and thus the entire foundation of Dionysius' regime, is an example of both of these tendencies.

¹⁹ Stroheker (1958) ch. 1; Sanders (1979), (1979–80) 71–3, (1987) ch. 1; Caven (1990) 222–33.

²⁰ Sanders (1987) 16, (1979) 213, (1979–80) 73; Caven (1990) 209.

²¹ Olivieri (1950).

they focus on unusual elements that seem redeemable or interesting in light of other genres or poetic developments.²² Yet even the scholars (like Suess) who take his poetry most seriously, as with those who take his politics most seriously (like Sanders), however, tend to conclude that Dionysius' Lenaia win must have been politically motivated;²³ no one, it seems, is willing to argue that even one of his tragedies might actually have been good.

Dionysius as innovator

I want to reexamine this consensus about the poor quality of Dionysius' tragic poetry. What I have to suggest is speculative, of course, since the evidence for Dionysius' poetry consists of a few fragments and a great many untrustworthy (if hilarious) anecdotes. Furthermore, I am not discounting politics as a factor in his Lenaia win in 367; I would like to suggest, simply, that politics may not have been the only factor in his victory. Like Suess and Carpanelli, I will suggest that Dionysius was attempting certain innovations in tragedy that some Athenians found interesting enough to recognize with a victory (and other Athenians found worthy of mockery). These innovations expanded the boundaries of the tragic genre. For example, Dionysius borrowed plots and language from comedy.²⁴ He also seems to have written tragedy based on contemporary or very recent history.²⁵ In fact, it seems that Dionysius wrote at least one tragedy about himself, thus uniting tragedized history with royal self-presentation in a way that anticipates developments in Hellenistic kingship.

²² Suess (1966); Carpanelli (2006). Suess sees Dionysius' innovations in genre and language as similar to Euripides' innovations, and thus as another precursor of New Comedy; he also argues that these innovations are one reason why modern scholars have been willing to accept the ancient image of Dionysius as a bad poet.

²³ Stroheker (1958) 97, 144; Suess (1966) 317–18; Sanders (1987) 16, (1979–80) 73; Caven (1990) 209. Finley (1979) 84: "In 368 Athens expressed her gratitude by making Dionysius and his sons honorary citizens, and in January of the following year, just before his death, by awarding him the tragedy prize at the Lenaia festival for a play called the *Ransom of Hector*. It is difficult to accept that the triumph came to him for his literary skill alone." Webster (1954a) 298: "The tyrant Dionysios I of Syracuse, who won a victory at the Lenaia of 367, apparently with the *Ransom of Hector*, and died after celebrating it, was regarded by the Athenian comic poets as an exceedingly bad dramatist, and the fragments with their mixture of pomposity and flatness suggest that their criticism may not be purely political." Hunter (2004: 116–17), however, points out that no ancient source assumes a political motive for the award of first prize, suggesting that this attribution of motive may be a modern invention.

²⁴ On the development of comedy in early Sicily, see Willi and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, this volume.

²⁵ For a similar observation that earlier tragedy in Sicily was also based on contemporary or recent events, see Boshier, this volume.

One of Dionysius' innovations was that he undertook to write tragedy at all. It is remarkable that a ruler such as Dionysius wrote his own tragedies, rather than simply commissioning them from an established poet, as Hieron of Syracuse did with Aeschylus, or Archelaus of Macedonia did with Euripides. Tzetzes (*Chil.* 178–9), admittedly a very late source, claims that Dionysius placed second and third in other years' dramatic competitions before he finally won the Lenaia in 367, which (if true) could be interpreted as evidence of ongoing political appeasement on the Athenians' part – or of some talent on Dionysius' part.²⁶ Perhaps contemporary comic poets and philosophers mocked Dionysius' poetic career in part because it seemed incompatible with the dignity of a ruler; that is certainly the tone of later commentators. Diodorus Siculus (15.6) says that Dionysius, encouraged by his flatterers, began to pride himself more on his "wretched poetry" (ποιημάτων μοχθηρῶν) than on his military successes. Diodorus then recounts several incidents in which Dionysius does not realize that the joke is on him and his bad poetry: after being asked his second opinion of Dionysius' verses, Philoxenus replied, "Take me back to the quarry!" When Dionysius asked Philoxenus a third time to give his opinion of Dionysius' tragedies, Philoxenus gave the ambiguous reply "Pathetic!" (Οἰκτρὰ). When Dionysius sent a delegation to perform his poetry at the Olympic musical competition, their voices were praised, but his poetry was mocked. All of these anecdotes depict Dionysius as unable to evaluate his own strengths and weaknesses accurately (he is good at warfare; he is bad at poetry), which makes him appear a fool in public; the tyrant's dependence on flatterers warps his self-perception, exposes him to ridicule, and undermines his dignity. In his description of Dionysius' tyrannical excesses and artistic self-delusions, Cicero (*Tusc.* 5.21.63) muses that even bad poets prefer their own work to anyone else's. Perhaps contemporary critics also mocked Dionysius because he inserted himself and his life experiences into his poetry, much as he mingled comic and tragic elements together; that is implied in Lucian's sneer at Dionysius. Lucian calls Dionysius' style in general "exceedingly poor and ridiculous" (φάυλως πᾶν καὶ γελοίως) and says it was "even more ridiculous" (μακρῶς γελοιότερα) that Dionysius wrote frags. 9 and 10 on the death of his wife after going to great pains to acquire Aeschylus' writing-tablets; the tyrant's hopes of divine inspiration resulted in mediocre verses about his

²⁶ Dearden (1990a) 234 argues that there is no particular reason to doubt Tzetzes here, points out that Euripides famously often placed second or third in dramatic competitions in the fifth century, and notes that "it was no mean feat for Dionysius to have his plays performed in Athens at a time when revivals of the older playwrights were becoming more commonplace."

personal life. Again, the explicit criticism is that Dionysius did not realize how foolish he appeared by pursuing his hobby – but we can also read this anecdote to suggest that critics found the unorthodox content of his verses objectionable, just as they found his unorthodox activity of writing poetry and entering dramatic competitions objectionable.

We have fragments from several named tragedies by Dionysius, and the titles suggest plots from mythology: *Adonis*, *Alcmene*, *Leda*, *Ransom of Hector*. Plots from mythology were standard, of course, and *Ransom of Hector* and *Alcmene* draw on two of the most popular bodies of myth for tragic plots, the Trojan Cycle and the saga of Herakles. Alcmene was a popular subject in fifth- and fourth-century tragedy (and comedy²⁷), the episode of the ransom of Hector's corpse less so after Aeschylus' *Phrygians*, although several fourth-century vase-paintings suggest ongoing dramatic productions of the story.²⁸ Some scholars have argued that Dionysius' *Ransom of Hector* featured Andromache and her children prominently, in contrast to the scene with Priam familiar from the *Iliad*.²⁹ Adonis and Leda were far less common as tragic subjects; in fact, Webster notes that we know of no other tragedies with these titles, although a number of fifth- and fourth-century comedies dealt with the stories of Adonis' sensational birth or death and Leda laying or hatching the egg that produced Helen.³⁰ Even Dionysius' selection of plots from myth seems to have been experimental, therefore, and for some plots he drew at least as much from the comic tradition as from the tragic tradition. Dionysius is also credited with a satyr play, *Limos* (*Famine*), which is thought to have featured Heracles.³¹

Other fragments of Dionysius that are unattributed to any named play suggest that he also wrote historical tragedies, in the vein of Phrynichus' *Sack of Miletus* and *Phoenician Women*, Aeschylus' *Persians*, or Theodectes' *Mausolus*. Dionysius apparently went these other poets one better by dramatizing his own life and reign. Dionysius fr. 9 (Snell) reads:

²⁷ Euripides wrote an *Alcmene*, while Sophocles wrote an *Amphitryo* (as Aeschylus may have); Plato Comicus wrote a *Nyx Makra* in the fourth century. See Christenson (2000) 47–50.

²⁸ Taplin (2007a) 85–6; Dearden (1990a) 235.

²⁹ The text of Tzetzes *Homerica* 311 (and the scholion on the line) is corrupt, but could be taken to suggest that the play was titled *Andromache*, or *The Ransom of Hector*. On the *Ransom of Hector*, see Buehler (1973); Papathomopoulos (1981); Grossardt (2005).

³⁰ Webster (1954a) 298. Dearden (1990a) 235 n. 25 notes that the third-century ruler Ptolemy Philopator is credited with a tragedy called *Adonis* (= Snell 283). See Dearden, this volume, for discussion of a comic Apulian red-figure krater on which Helen is being hatched from an egg.

³¹ See Olivieri (1950) 92–3; Suess (1966) 301–2. On the popularity of Heracles in the earlier west Greek comic drama of Epicharmus, see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, this volume.

Δωρικὸν ἦκεν ἡ Διονυσίου γυνή

Dear little Doris, the wife of Dionysius, has come³²

Doris of Locri was one of Dionysius' wives (and the mother of Dikaioisyne, incidentally). Her name, and her story, were well known: after Dionysius' first wife died, he took two wives in one day, Doris of Locri and the Syracusan Aristomache. Doris was the first to bear him a son, Dionysius II, who became his heir; her mother was supposedly executed on suspicion of giving Aristomache contraceptive or abortifacient drugs.³³ We will return to Dionysius' two wives later; for now, let us note that a mention of Dionysius' 'foreign' wife, who was widely considered to be in competition with his Syracusan wife for primacy in the royal household, would make any tragic audience take notice. Another fragment (fr. 10) by Dionysius reads:

οἴμοι, γυναῖκα χρησίμην ἀπώλεσα

Alas, what a good/useful wife I have lost!³⁴

As Xanthakis-Karamanos and Suess have speculated, it is possible that frs. 9 and 10 are from the same play, which, if true, leads to the conclusion that Dionysius himself was the speaker of fr. 10 – presumably the protagonist.³⁵ If we accept Hermann's emendation of fr. 9 ("Doris, the wife of Dionysius, has died"), then it seems possible that this tragedy could have focused on the death of Dionysius' wife; this suggests affinities with Euripides' *Alcestis*. Even if the fragments are from different tragedies, however, fr. 9 strongly suggests that Dionysius wrote a tragedy involving people and perhaps events from his own life, which in itself is a notable innovation. It is significant that Dionysius names his wife in fr. 9 (against the standard Athenian practice of avoiding naming respectable women), and that he may have used the diminutive *Dorikon*, "dear little Doris," "Doreykins"; this both increases the sense of intimacy in the verse, and adds to the sense that Dionysius was experimenting with non-standard diction in tragedy. The hostile tradition of Dionysius as a bad poet, especially the stories of his ridicule by comic

³² Snell (1971) has Δωρικὸν ἦκεν ἡ Διονυσίου γυνή, but notes that Hermann has Δωρίς τέθνηκεν ἡ Διονυσίου γυνή and that Suess has Δωρίδιον ἦκεν ἡ Διονυσίου γυνή.

³³ Diod. Sic. 13.112, 14.44; Plut. *Dion* 3; Aelian *VH* 13.10. On Doris, see Sanders (1987) 2, 24–5; Caven (1990) 98–9, 175, 220, 242–3.

³⁴ Lucian *Ind.* 15 seems to mock Dionysius for using the word χρησίμην, the primary meaning of which is "useful, serviceable" (*LSJ*) to describe a wife, but it could be translated as "good" rather than "useful." Webster (1954a) 298 suggests that fr. 10 as preserved could be a parody of the original line, rather than a fragment of the play itself.

³⁵ Suess (1966) 302–3; Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 153.

poets, could have as much to do with his self-referential (and self-important) poetic innovations as with his use of odd vocabulary, or his politics.³⁶

More speculatively, Plato is known to have visited Sicily, and perhaps Dionysius' court, sometime during 388–387. Both Plato's Seventh *Letter* and the anecdotal tradition surrounding his visit to Dionysius' court suggest that they had some sort of falling-out, whether or not it involved actually selling Plato into slavery.³⁷ Tzetzes (*Chil.* 5.182–5) adds that Dionysius later wrote a tragicomic play attacking Plato, from which he quotes Dionysius fr. 11:

αὐτοῖς γὰρ ἐμπαίζουσιν οἱ μωροὶ βροτῶν

Fools make sport of themselves

If Dionysius did write such a play – and it is a big “if” – then it is conceivable that not only Plato, but Dionysius himself was a character in it. After all, if he bothered to write a play attacking Plato as a result of their rift, then it might make sense to dramatize their interpersonal conflict, rather than, say, to satirize Plato's philosophy in the abstract. And even if the play did satirize Plato's philosophy in the abstract, it would most likely have required characters to articulate that satire, as Aristophanes uses Socrates and Strepsiades to do in the *Clouds*. This would then give us two plays that the tyrant wrote about episodes in his own life: a tragedy (presumably) involving the death of his wife, and a genre-bending tragicomedy about Plato.³⁸

Two other fragments from Dionysius' tragedies refer to Justice, one in the context of tyranny. Famously, fr. 4 (see also p. 141 above) declares:

³⁶ Dionysius fr. 12 is a series of words singled out as strained, punning etymologies by Athenaeus (3.98d) and other ancient commentators. On this feature of Dionysius' style, see Suess (1966) 310–13, who notes that it represents, at least in part, a borrowing from comedy.

³⁷ Plat. *Letter* 7 (326b–328d); Xen. *Hell.* 5.1; Diod. Sic. 15.6–7; Nepos *Dion* 2; Plut. *Dion* 4–5; Diog. Laert. 3.18. Porter (1943) sifts the anecdotal tradition and concludes that Plato, after an unsuccessful visit to Dionysius' court, was likely captured on his way back to Athens and sold as a prisoner of war, giving rise to a garbled tradition of being sold into slavery by the tyrant. Sanders (1979) does not seem to believe the tradition of Plato's enslavement, but does argue that Plato and Dionysius experienced a rift as part of Dionysius' punishment of the intellectuals and poets at his court, which in turn was a reaction to the failure of political rapprochement between himself and Athens in 386; see also Sanders (1987) 5–6, 14–25. Caven (1990) 147, 168–9, 178–83, 226–8, on the other hand, disputes that Plato ever met Dionysius I personally and notes that the Seventh *Letter* gives no indication of an invitation to the court, although he does not deny that Plato went to Sicily and met with important people, including Dion, Dionysius' brother-in-law. See also Monoson, this volume.

³⁸ On Dionysius' play attacking Plato, see Suess (1966) 300–1.

ἡ γὰρ τυραννὶς ἀδικίας μήτηρ ἔφυ

tyranny is the mother of injustice

Ancient commentators like Plutarch found this line scandalously hypocritical given Dionysius' warmongering career. Modern commentators are irresistibly drawn to it as well.³⁹ Fr. 5 also talks about the "eye of Justice" and how it "always sees everything":

ὁ τῆς Δίκης ὀφθαλμός ὥς δι' ἡσύκου

λεύσσω προσώπου πᾶνθ' ὁμῶς ἀεὶ βλέπει

the eye of Justice looking as through a quiet face

always sees everything equally

This sort of *gnome* was utterly conventional in fifth- and fourth-century tragedy.⁴⁰ Yet these conventionally pious sentiments about Justice are of a piece with Dionysius naming one of his daughters Dikaosune (to which Plutarch also objects as hypocritical). Sanders and Stroheker have both argued that these public declarations, if you will, about Justice were part of Dionysius' campaign to present himself as (and to be) an enlightened despot, while Finley has called them "a marvel of disingenuousness."⁴¹ We do not have to believe in Dionysius' sincerity to see these actions as part of a pattern of self-representation as the Just Ruler, a character familiar from various fifth-century texts. In fact, Dionysius fr. 3 (from the *Leda*) reiterates another tragic *gnome* (or cliché), "count no man happy until he is dead":

θνητῶν δὲ μηδεὶς μηδὲν ὀλβιὸν ποτε

κρίνη, πρὶν αὐτὸν εὖ τελευτήσαντ' ἴδῃ.

ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γὰρ τὸν θανόντ' ἐπαινέσαι

Let no one of mortals ever judge anyone blessed,

before he sees the man end his life well;

for he will praise the dead man with certainty

³⁹ Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 2.5.338b–c; see Olivieri (1950) 99; Stroheker (1958) 97–8; Suess (1966) 300; Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 159–60; Sanders (1979) 208; (1987) 2–3; Carpanelli (2006) 191–2.

⁴⁰ In fact, the phrase "eye of Justice" or "face of Justice" occurs in several fifth- and fourth-century plays: Olivieri (1950) 99–100 compares it to Soph. fr. 11 (τὸ χρύσιον δὲ τᾶς Δίκας δέδορκεν / ὅμμα, τὸν δ' ἄδικον ἀμείβεται) and to a fragment of unknown authorship, adesp. fr. 421 (ἔστιν Δίκης ὀφθαλμός, ὃς τὰ πᾶνθ' ὀρᾷ). It also appears in Eur. fr. 486 Nauck (δικαιοσύνας τὸ χρύσειον πρόσωπον); Philemon fr. 246 Kock (ἔστιν Δίκης ὀφθαλμός ὃς τὰ πᾶνθ' ὀρᾷ, 5); Men. *Sententiae* 225 Jaekel (ἔστιν Δίκης ὀφθαλμός, ὃς τὰ πᾶνθ' ὀρᾷ). See Suess (1966) 300; Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 125, 159–60.

⁴¹ Finley (1979) 77 (on the names of Dionysius' daughters); Stroheker (1958) 98; Sanders (1979) 207–8 and (1987) 2–3.

This is the lesson that the wise lawgiver of Athens, Solon, famously teaches Croesus, the *turannos* of Lydia, in Herodotus 1.30–2.⁴² Thus two tragic clichés in the meager fragments of Dionysius call to mind the conventional utterances of wise, just rulers in Athenian mythology.

Dionysius as tragic king

The Just Ruler, as I am calling him, is something of a stock character in suppliant dramas of the fifth century: Pelasgus in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, Theseus in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, Theseus in Euripides' *Madness of Heracles* and *Suppliants*. Unlike the kings who are protagonists in many tragedies, such as Oedipus in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Agamemnon in *Agamemnon*, or Theseus in *Hippolytus*, the Just Ruler is a helper character and does not suffer personal loss.⁴³ Rather, he feels the sufferings of the oppressed suppliants deeply, and takes successful action to help them.⁴⁴ The Just Ruler upholds the laws of the gods – especially concerning protection of suppliants and proper burial – and abides by the will of the people, as part of a quasi-democratic kingship.⁴⁵ He is often seen by critics as something of a cipher for Athenian values or the idealized Athenian *polis*; this is why the character is so often Theseus himself.⁴⁶ In particular, the Just Ruler disavows tyranny: when Pelasgus announces he will have to put the Danaids' asylum request to the assembly (365–9), the Danaids are amazed and blurt out (370–2):

⁴² Croesus is introduced as a *turannos* at Hdt. 1.6; see Dewald (2003) 32–4.

⁴³ The Just Ruler would have been played by the deuteragonist, or second actor, in these plays; the deuteragonist stereotypically played the second-most important role after that of the protagonist, or first actor.

⁴⁴ Griffith (1998) 29 calls the kings in these four plays “cardboard idealizations of monarchical dependability” but notes that even in tragedies with transgressive (protagonist) rulers, monarchy itself is not questioned. See Mills (1997) 173 on the difference between Theseus and Oedipus in Soph. *OC*.

⁴⁵ Protection of suppliants: Aesch. *Supp.* 605–24, 911–29; Soph. *OC* 631–41, 904–36, 1156–80. (Heracles does not supplicate Theseus in Eur. *HF*, but Theseus demonstrates proper reverence for the obligation to help one's friends, especially as a way of repaying the help they have previously rendered: 1169–71, 1213–28, 1136–9.) Proper burial: Soph. *OC* 1751–67; Eur. *Supp.* 513–97, 754–68. The will of the people: Aesch. *Supp.* 365–9, 397–401, 516–23; Eur. *Supp.* 346–58. On the quasi-democratic status of these kings' *poleis* in tragedy, see Zuntz (1955) 8; Davie (1982) 28; Easterling (1984) 39–42; Easterling (1985) 2–3, 9; Podlecki (1986) 77, 82–6; Mills (1997) 170.

⁴⁶ See Zuntz (1955) 20–2; Davie (1982); Easterling (1985) 3; Mills (1997) 101. Michelini (1994) argues that Eur. *Supp.* problematizes Athenian democratic ideology, against which see Mills (1997) 88–9. Both Davie (1982) 26 and Raafaub (2003) 66 note that Theseus was assimilated to Harmodius and Aristogeiton in the plastic arts of the fifth century, as parallel “founders” of democracy.

σύ τοι πόλις, σὺ δὲ τὸ δῆμιον
 πρύτανις ἄκριτος ὦν
 κρατύνεις

But you are the state, you are the people
 As unaccountable lord
 You rule . . .

Pelagus gently corrects their mistaken view of his role (397–401).⁴⁷ Theseus in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* lectures Creon (who freely admits that he is a *turannos*, 851) on respect for the rule of law (904–36). Euripides' *Madness of Heracles* toys with audience expectations that Heracles will turn out to be the Just King who returns from Hades to save his family from the villainous “new tyrant” Lycus (567), but in fact, it is the elderly Theseus who plays this role with Heracles after Heracles has slaughtered Lycus and his wife and children in a fit of madness. Theseus tells Amphitryon that he set off from Athens to offer military assistance to Heracles when he heard that Lycus had usurped the kingship of Thebes (1163–71); he winds up offering Heracles purification and a new home in Athens. Finally, Theseus in Euripides' *Suppliants* initially refuses Adrastus' suppliant request to help him bury his dead (87–249), and is willing to rescue the dead bodies of the Seven Against Thebes from Creon's forces only on condition that the Athenian populace support the undertaking (349–58). Furthermore, he explicitly rejects the label of *turannos* (403–8), which sets off an extended debate on political theory with the Theban herald whom the *turannos* Creon has sent (399–462).⁴⁸ Their exchange culminates with a ringing one-line *gnome* from Theseus: “Nothing is worse for a state than a *turannos*” (οὐδὲν τυράννου δυσμενέστερον πόλει, Eur. *Supp.* 429). The Just Ruler in these tragedies is an idealized monarch: a strong ruler who rules with the complete consent of his subjects because he is a fundamentally righteous man. One might

⁴⁷ See Hall (1989) 192–3; she notes that ἄκριτος brings to mind the Athenian *euthuna*. See also Podlecki (1966) 46; Easterling (1984) 38–9.

⁴⁸ This debate is a version of the standard constitutional debate in various fifth- and fourth-century sources over the respective merits of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. The *locus classicus* is Hdt. 3.80–2, which specifically describes the *turannos* as *aneuthunos*. On the “constitutional debate” in Herodotus, see Dewald (2003) 28–30 and the bibliography in n. 14; Raaflaub (2003) 75. See also Podlecki (1966) 105, 117–21; Caven (1990) 225–6; Griffith (1998) 29 n. 26. Parker (1998) argues, unsuccessfully in my view, that *turannos* was a value-neutral synonym for *basileus* until Thucydides and then fourth-century philosophical texts, and that its negative connotation was a product of Attic prose and Athenian ideology. He concedes (1998: 160), however, that this very passage in Eur. *Supp.* contradicts this thesis.

say that this stock character renders monarchist ideology nearly invisible by making it congruent with democratic self-government.⁴⁹

Dionysius I's public self-presentation resembles this image of the idealized monarch from Athenian tragedy. His tragedies disavow tyranny and appeal to the idea of all-seeing Justice; his daughters are named for cardinal virtues of the ideal ruler; and his policies – including his near-constant warfare with Carthage – could be seen, from a favorable perspective, as courageous, assertive actions undertaken to defend Sicily in particular and Greece in general from lawless barbarian invaders.⁵⁰ And while Dionysius does not seem to have taken great pains to present himself as a democrat to his own subjects, he does seem to have allowed his subjects a measure of self-governance, such as continuing to meet in the Assembly, in keeping with their previous democratic functioning – much as Theseus and Pelasgus consult the Assembly in their tragedies.⁵¹ It may also be significant that he negotiated a treaty with Athens around the time of his Lenaia win (and death) in which he avoided calling himself a *turannos*, choosing the unusual term *strategos autokrator* instead; this suggests that he was very careful about his image in the larger Greek world, and especially with democratic Athens.⁵² It is certainly significant that this Sicilian tyrant adapted an Athenian literary genre and a distinctively Athenian stock character for his own purposes, writing and presumably producing tragedies outside Athens which, along with other aspects of his public policy, portrayed his reign as that of another Good King Theseus.

While he avoided the terms *basileus* and *turannos* in his treaty with the Athenians, Dionysius seems to have borrowed from the visual self-presentation of kings. Dionysius seems to have worn some kind of magnificent kingly robe, according to the tyrant and historian Duris of Samos, whom Athenaeus quotes (12.535e–f):

⁴⁹ See Davie (1982) 32 on these plays as evidence that Athenians were keen to differentiate the Good King from the Tyrant already in the fifth century, as also seen in fourth-century texts of political philosophy and in the “Alexandrian ideal of kingship.” Many scholars have argued, following Thuc. 2.65, that Pericles attempted this same sort of ideological mystification of his true role as the unofficial King of Athens: see, e.g., Morrison (1950), who draws a parallel between Pericles and Theseus in Eur. *Supp.*, and the reply of Gomme (1950) to Morrison. Ober (1989) 86–91 sees Thucydides as overstating Pericles' isolation and singularity.

⁵⁰ As Sanders (1987) 2–6 argues.

⁵¹ See Caven (1990) ch. 9, esp. 158–63.

⁵² See Caven (1990) 156–7, 209. Hekster and Fowler (2005b) 15 note that Macedonian kings dealing with Greek *poleis* tended “to shape their relations with the cities of Greece in terms that avoided, so far as possible, the language of kingship” and to use terms like *hegemon* to describe themselves and *koinon* to describe their relationship with the *poleis*.

Δοῦρις δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν “Παυσανίας μὲν,” φησὶν, “ὁ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλεὺς καταθέμενος τὸν πάτριον τρίβωνα τὴν Περσικὴν ἐνεδύετο στολήν. ὁ δὲ Σικελίας τύραννος Διονύσιος ξυστίδα καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ἔτι δ' ἐπιπόρημα μετελάμβανε τραγικόν. Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὡς τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκυρίευσεν Περσικαῖς ἐχρήτο στολαῖς”.

Duris in the twenty-second book of his *Histories* says: “Pausanias, the king of the Spartans, put aside the traditional threadbare cloak of his country and dressed himself in a Persian robe [*stole*]. So, too, Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, substituted a robe of state [*xustis*] and a golden crown, plus a tragic buckled mantle [*epiporpema*]. And Alexander, when he became master of Asia, began to wear Persian robes [*stolai*].”⁵³

Several things leap out as significant here: the fact that Duris lists Dionysius among other Greek rulers who adopted Persian dress when they became powerful, suggesting that a trend was developing of emulating the Great King; the fact that Alexander’s famous adoption of Persian dress is listed immediately after Dionysius’, suggesting that Dionysius’ self-presentation influenced Alexander’s; and, of course, the fact that Dionysius is described as wearing a tragic actor’s cloak (ἐπιπόρημα τραγικόν) as part of his sumptuous, regal, Orientalizing attire.⁵⁴ These tantalizing details could be taken to signify Dionysius’ aligning himself with Eastern despotism – or with kings from fifth- and fourth-century tragedy, or possibly with both;

⁵³ The term *stole* is used fairly generically to mean a “robe,” and often has a qualifying adjective to indicate whether it is a masculine or feminine, Greek or Persian robe that is meant (cf. Soph. *Phil.* 223–4; Eur. *Bacch.* 822, 828, 836). It often describes long robes, such as those worn by priests (cf. Plut. *Alc.* 22). See Losfeld (1991) 44, 107, 130, 136, 164, 244–5, 267 n. 166, 302; Martino (1998) 160. Scholars disagree on the *xustis*: Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 203 describes it as an “over-garment” known to the tragic stage at some point, citing Pollux 4.116–17 and Scholiast Ar. *Nub.* 70; Gulick (1955) *ad loc* describes it as “ordinarily worn by women, or by men on ceremonial occasions; cf. Plat. *Rep.* 420e”; while Losfeld (1991) 106 identifies it as the long, belted robe worn by charioteers. The *epiporpema* (or sometimes *epiporpoma*) was a buckled, embellished cloak (cf. Plut. *Alex.* 32.6); see Losfeld (1991) 301–2.

⁵⁴ It is tempting to try to connect the *epiporpema* to fourth-century tragic costume conventions, which are often claimed to have become increasingly sumptuous, but contemporary evidence (mostly vase painting) is sketchy and inconsistent: Taplin (2007a) 38 argues that “highly ornamented fabrics and long, tightly fitting sleeves” are found on many fourth-century vases that either definitely or probably depict tragic scenarios, although he notes that “kings, Orientals, heroines, and others” are depicted with ornate costumes on vases that clearly have nothing to do with tragedy (see also 82, 87, 103, 104, 117, 129, 143, 148, 150, 152, 165, 177, 203, 209, 210, 262). Wyles (2010) 241–53, examining the richly patterned robe of one of the actors on the Pronomos vase, notes that “Oriental” costumes in vase paintings relating to tragedy can carry a range of significations, from indicating Oriental ethnicity, to signifying wealth, to providing an “archaizing” tone, to suggesting a character’s “metaphorical orientalism.” Hall (1989) 70, 84 and n. 127, 85–6 (and notes), and Miller (2004) are willing to argue for a real differentiation of ultra-luxurious Oriental dress in fifth-century tragedy. Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 199–203 is cautious about claims that costumes became more elaborate, ornamented, and Oriental as time went on.

the figure of Darius from Aeschylus' *Persians* serves as a helpful reminder that tragic playwrights were capable of depicting luxuriously attired Eastern potentates as Just Rulers.⁵⁵ Sanders has suggested the possibility that Dionysius wore a tragic actor's purple cloak as part of an attempt to present himself as a "Western Great King";⁵⁶ Dionysius' taking two wives might fit with this Orientalizing self-portrayal. I would argue that Dionysius was appropriating elements of "royal" attire from various sources, not only *including* tragedy but possibly mediated *through* tragedy, in order to create his own image of dignified, heroic leadership. In other words, if he was portraying himself as a "Western Great King," it was the Great King as seen in Aeschylus' *Persians*, which various ancient sources relate Aeschylus had produced in Syracuse for Hieron I in the 470s or 460s.⁵⁷

According to these bits of evidence, Dionysius I of Syracuse wrote tragedies about his family (possibly including the death of his wife), about his rift with Plato, and about an unjust tyrant. He wore a tragic actor's royal robe. He named his daughters after ideal virtues of the ruler. He presented himself to the Athenians, at about the time when he was competing with his tragedy at the Lenaia, as "Supreme Commander" (*strategos autokrator*) rather than as a *turannos*. All of this, taken together, suggests that Dionysius sought to present himself to the world as a character familiar from Athenian tragedy: the Just Ruler, Good King Theseus.

If any of this is true, then it would represent not only the continuation of a vein of experimental tragedy, historical tragedy, into the fourth century, but the innovation of biographical or even autobiographical tragedy. We have already mentioned the three most famous fifth-century historical plays, Phrynichus' *Sack of Miletus* and *Phoenician Women* and Aeschylus' *Persians* (the hypothesis to which says it was modeled on Phrynichus' *Phoenician Women*), as well as a fourth-century historical play, Theodectes' *Mausolus*. Two lesser-known fourth-century historical plays are Moschion's *Pheraioi* and *Themistocles*. The fourth-century historical plays all concern "great men": Mausolus was the fourth-century ruler of Caria, *Pheraioi* was apparently about the death of the fourth-century tyrant Alexander of Pherai, and Themistocles, of course, was one of the most famous figures from fifth-century Athenian history.⁵⁸ Evidence of another fourth-century historical

⁵⁵ See Griffith (1998) 57–65.

⁵⁶ See Sanders (1979–80) 69; (1987) 7–9; (1991) 281; he cites Baton of Sinope *FGrH* 268F4 (= Ath. 6.251e–f), Theopompus of Chios *FGrH* 115F187 (= Ath. 10.436a–b), and Diodorus (14.44.8) in addition to the passage quoted above from Duris of Samos, but none of these other passages describe Dionysius' dress specifically.

⁵⁷ On the performance of Aeschylus' *Persians* in the Syracuse of Hieron I, see Bosher, this volume, and Duncan (2011).

⁵⁸ See Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 17.

tragedy about a famous leader – written by the leader himself, no less – would strengthen the case that this was an occasional occurrence, rather than a fifth-century experiment that died out.⁵⁹ It could even be taken as a possible influence on the Roman *fabula praetexta*. And it would mesh well with the notice in the Suda that Dionysius wrote a history of his own reign in prose.⁶⁰

The development of kingship

Evidence of a fourth-century ruler depicting himself as a tragic hero in a play he wrote would also add to our picture of kingship in the late Classical/early Hellenistic period. Sanders has argued that Dionysius was one of Alexander's precursors in establishing the practice of ruler-cult in Greece, erecting statues to himself in the likeness of the god Dionysus.⁶¹ I would argue that Dionysius' poetic career, his possibly historical and autobiographical tragedies, is evidence of a program of self-dramatization; he sought to present himself, onstage and off, as a tragic king, rather than as a tyrant.⁶²

Dionysius' written and visual self-presentation as a tragic Just Ruler, a Syracusan version of Good King Theseus, suggests that tragedy influenced the self-presentations of absolute rulers even before the Hellenistic period. This tragic influence eventually produced figures such as Alexander the Great, who traveled with a troupe of actors on his eastward campaigns;⁶³

⁵⁹ This line of historical tragedy continued with the anonymous *Gyges* tragedy, which most scholars take to be Hellenistic. Lloyd-Jones (1966) 21–33 argues that the *Gyges* was an early tragedy, probably by Phrynichus, rather than a Hellenistic tragedy; he also discusses Phrynichus' other historical tragedies.

⁶⁰ See Loicq-Berger (1966); Sanders (1987) 41. Sanders argues that Dionysius' history was a serious endeavor; Loicq-Berger argues that Dionysius' history was more "mythico-history," a loose collection of anecdotes, based on his emendation of the Suda passage.

⁶¹ Sanders (1991). The evidence he presents is quite slim (a single statue base) compared to the conclusions he draws, but it is suggestive nonetheless. Ceccarelli (2004) also argues that Dionysius was one of the first autocrats to attempt to "divinize" himself, and that his interest in drama (which, after all, was under the protection of Dionysus) was part of this program of self-presentation as a living Dionysus.

⁶² Thonemann (2005) makes an analogous argument about the self-presentation of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Athens, arguing that Demetrius' appearance in the Theater of Dionysus, flanked by a bodyguard, to deliver a surprisingly lenient message to the assembled Athenians after his successful siege (Plut. *Dem.* 34) was part of a consistent campaign of self-presentation as a "tragic king," as a just, wise ruler who resembled the god of theater, Dionysus. Demetrius Poliorcetes comes at the end of Duris of Samos' list of rulers who adopted luxurious Eastern dress, cited above (Ath. 12.535e–f).

⁶³ The sources are collected in Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 280.

Mithridates VI of Pontus, who contrived to crown himself in an amphitheater full of his subjects by having the theatrical crane lower a crown onto his head (Plut. *Sulla* 11.1); and, ultimately, Nero, whose reign insistently conflated real life with theatrical artifice.⁶⁴ Absolute rulers seem to have borrowed increasingly from the language, spectacle, props, and techniques of the tragic stage in order to lend themselves an aura of grandeur, legitimacy, and heroism. This trend is often seen as beginning with Alexander, but Dionysius I, with his innovative “traditional” tragedies, experimental self-dramatizing plays, and the melodramatic narrative arc of his participation in the Athenian dramatic festival, encompassing early rejection, eventual victory, and subsequent death, can fairly lay claim to being one of the first absolute rulers to unite political and theatrical power.

So why was he ridiculed? He was ridiculed because he was attempting several kinds of innovations, and from outside Athens to boot: he was writing tragedy himself, in Attic, not Doric; he was writing stylistically innovative tragedies that borrowed plots from comedy, history, and his own personal life; and he was depicting himself in person as a character from tragedy. (We might compare the career of Euripides, whose tragic innovations influenced New Comedy heavily, whose own *Vita* – influenced by comic attacks on him – made him a rather comic figure, and who rarely won the dramatic competition in his lifetime.) I have argued that Dionysius was attempting to present himself, onstage and off, as a Syracusan version of Good King Theseus. His critics, however, focused on the incongruities in his persona: literary critics focused on the contrast between the genre of high tragedy and Dionysius’ non-tragic vocabulary and historical plots; moralizing critics, like Plutarch, focused on the contrast between Dionysius’ words as a poet and his actions as a ruler, that is, on his hypocrisy. Athenian comic playwrights lampooned Dionysius as ridiculous for attempting to write tragedy at all, while later historians turned his self-depiction on its head: instead of the Just Ruler, they depicted him as the stock tyrant of tragedy – Creon, not Theseus. Dionysius’ crime was that, as a playwright, he was trying to cast himself as the hero: a hero who found novel solutions to the Procrustean bed of tragedy, a hero who ruled his kingdom in real life like the ideal king of an ideal city in a play. His detractors resented this autocratic attempt to seize all creative control, and cast him instead as the villain.

⁶⁴ Two good places to begin a survey of Nero’s fascination with performance are Bartsch (1994) ch. 2 and Edwards (2002).

8 | Dionysius I and Sicilian theatrical traditions in Plato's *Republic*

Representing continuities between democracy and
tyranny

S. SARA MONOSON

In the *Republic* Books 8 and 9 Socrates addresses the implications of the philosophical arguments developed earlier in the dialogue for the assessment of familiar regimes. At the center of this part of the *Republic* is the critique of tyranny. Socrates argues that tyrannical rule is, contrary to common understanding, *inevitably* brutal and that the inner life of a tyrant is *necessarily* miserable. There is no room in his account for the notion of a benevolent or happy tyrant. His arguments challenge his readers to be alert citizens, not easy marks for a would-be tyrant's duplicitous propaganda, and urge them to develop their capacities to resist their own inner tendencies to desire great power and, however secretly, envy the tyrant. To convey these points Socrates presents a theoretically driven model of a tyrant's political and inner rule that features winged drones and wolves. Though it is not a historical portrait of any tyrant in particular, allusions to recognizable empirical examples enliven the account, giving it an added layer of fascination. Specifically, the portrait of tyranny in the *Republic* appears to be based on the rule of Dionysius I of Syracuse. In this essay I review the usual evidence cited to support this identification, introduce considerably more, and argue for its substantial theoretical significance. In particular, I argue that this identification is a central part of Plato's presentation of a key theme in his political thought – the continuities between tyranny and democracy. In addition, I find that patterned allusions to Sicilian theatrical traditions and to Dionysius I's ambitions as a dramatist figure importantly in Plato's critique of dramatic poetry, including its eviction from the ideal city. I also find that recognizing the importance of Sicily in Plato's imaginary reveals new layers of meaning in the dramatic setting of the *Republic*. Finally, I review supporting evidence for this reading from the *Gorgias*.

Dionysius I and the portrait of the tyrant in *Republic* 8 and 9

The generally accepted dates of both Plato's first trip to Sicily (388–387)¹ and the composition of the *Republic* (not earlier than the 370s) are consistent with the possibility that Plato's first-hand observations of this tyrant could have informed his written portrait of tyranny in the *Republic*.² In addition, three features of the depiction of the tyrant in the *Republic* strongly suggest Plato was thinking of Dionysius I of Syracuse and have been read this way by commentators.

First, in *Republic* 8 Socrates argues that tyranny springs from democracy, specifically, from a demagogic leader adept at exploiting the aspirations of unsophisticated people (562a–566a, esp. at 565c5–e1).³ This model of revolutionary change did not have widespread empirical resonance. It does not fit the Athenian experience with the Peisistratids. It does not fit the case of Hieron of Sicily. It does not fit the early Greek tyrants discussed by Herodotus (e.g., the Corinthian Cypselus and Periander or Polycrates of Samos) nor, of course, does it fit the legendary Persian king/despot

¹ It is difficult to fix the exact date of Plato's visit. Finley suggests 388/7. Finley (1979) xiv, 88–93. My argument assumes only that the *Republic* was composed after the first visit and this much is not controversial, except among the very few outliers who question whether any visit took place at all, e.g., Caven (1990).

² Plato's visits to Syracuse during the reigns of Dionysius I and II and long relationship with the elder tyrant's nephew, Dion, are known to us from the collection of thirteen letters attributed to Plato, only a couple of which are probably genuine, and the fanciful tales related nearly 400 years later in Plutarch's *Life of Dion*, a source which drew heavily on the letters and legends about such things as Plato being sent to the slave market at Corinth by Dionysius only to be serendipitously rescued by other philosophers who were present and could buy his freedom. In addition, as Finley notes "there is not a trace" of any account of Plato's actual influence on Sicilian affairs in the historical narratives we have in Diodorus of Sicily or even in Aristotle's "references to Dion's maneuvers, which took place in his own lifetime." Finley (1979) 91. Finley is referring to Diod. Sic. 16.6–20 and Arist. *Pol.* 1312a4–6, 33–9; 1312b16–17. Diodorus discusses Plato only to note that Dionysius welcomed him to his court along with a number of other noteworthy intellectuals, poets and cultural leaders from around Greece and to relate the suspect tale about Plato being sold into slavery (at Diod. Sic. 15.6–7), and not to suggest he had any impact whatsoever on any policies pursued by Syracusan rulers. I accept *Letter Seven* and *Letter Eight* as genuine. See Monoson (2000) 119.

Plato's account of his interest in Dionysius II and Dion captured imaginations starting already in antiquity and through to today and persistently presents vexing problems for the interpretation of his political thought. Did he go to Sicily to "implement" a fully formed idea of a philosopher-king? Did his experiences in Sicily shape his understanding of tyranny or of the philosopher-king? In what sense are Plato's political ideals "realizable?" The evidence for Plato's trips to Syracuse begs these questions. I address these issues in Monoson (2000) 145–53.

³ Τοῦτο μὲν ἄρα, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, δῆλον, ὅτι, ὅταν περ φύηται τύραννος, ἐκ προστατικῆς βίζης καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἐκβλαστάνει "So when we look at the growth of a tyrant, I said, one thing at least is clear, this position of champion is the sole root from which the tyrant springs" (Pl. *Resp.* 565d). (Trans. Ferrari – see note 7.)

Cambyses who was an exemplar of tyrannical cruelty for the Greeks. In fact, Aristotle complains at *Politics* 1316a (Book 5) that Socrates' account of revolutions (regime changes), and especially his account of the origins of tyranny, is deeply flawed precisely because it is contradicted by so many known empirical examples.⁴ We can observe, however, that the rise of one famous Greek tyrant does indeed fit the account given in the *Republic* – Dionysius I of Sicily. Indeed, Aristotle himself cites the elder Dionysius as an example of a tyrant who attained power by demagogic appeals to the poorer classes (Arist. *Pol.* 1305a26–2). Moreover, Diodorus provides documentation to substantiate that view (Diod. Sic. 13.91.3–96.4).⁵

Second, the *Republic's* account of a tyrannical soul's uncontrolled condition and the human behavior it produces matches the description in *Letter Seven* of the behavior of Dionysius I observed by Plato during his first visit to Syracuse. Plato says in *Letter Seven* that Dionysius I frequently indulged in excessive feasting, drinking and sex (326b). Precisely the same vices are ascribed to the tyrant in the *Republic* (573d). In the *Republic* Socrates indicates that such a soul, when placed in a position of political authority, will be avaricious to the point of ordering the confiscation of citizens' property and pathologically paranoid to the point of seeing conspiracies everywhere and being utterly friendless. *Letter Seven* ascribes the tyrant's failure to stabilize and extend his empire in Sicily to a dearth of true friends and comrades (331e–332a).⁶ *Letter Seven* also stresses Dionysius' paranoia, indicating that he was constantly suspicious of his own nephew Dion and that others close to him were party to some conspiracy. Dionysius' association with paranoia was legendary. The anecdotal tradition includes stories about how he had his own wives strip-searched before bedding them, had a broad trench dug around his bed to deter any attacks while he had his guard down in the throes of passion, and allowed only his own daughters to give him a shave and even then allowed them only an odd, dull tool – heated walnut shells that would singe the beard (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.20). Cicero's account of the Sword of Damocles also links Dionysius I to the image of an isolated paranoid. Dionysius is said to favor illustrating the pressures on a sole ruler to a flatterer by seating him on a throne located directly beneath a sword suspended by a single horsehair (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.21).

⁴ ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ λέγεται μὲν περὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους, οὐ μέντοι λέγεται καλῶς “The subject of revolutions is discussed by Socrates in the *Republic*, but is not discussed well” (Arist. *Pol.* 1316a1). (Trans. Rackham [1944].)

⁵ I am indebted to Finley (1979) 75 for this reference. Another Sicilian tyrant, Gelon, of Syracuse may also fit Plato's account, though far less neatly. See Finley (1975).

⁶ Nails observes the link between this passage in *Letter Seven* and the portrait of the tyrant in *Republic* Book 9. Nails (2002) 134.

The third feature of the depiction of the tyrant in the *Republic* that strongly suggests Plato was thinking of Dionysius I of Syracuse is a remarkable passage in which Plato uncharacteristically inserts his own voice into the text of the dialogue. At *Republic* 577a–b Socrates alludes to the travels of the dialogue's author. Socrates asks, who is capable of properly judging a tyrant's mental state? The "best judge" he says, "is the person who can mentally worm his way into a man's character and take a long, hard look at it."⁷ When Socrates continues we expect an explanation that stresses the philosopher's capacity to penetrate the external appearance of the tyrant and "see" his internal state. The passage identifies the tyrant's ruling strategy with the organization of grand displays put on for "outward show" and clear thinking with an ability to resist being "dazzled" (μὴ ἐκπλήττεται) by "theatrical costumes and props." Instead, at this point we get an appeal to the special credibility one should afford an eyewitness. Socrates states:

He must not see it [the tyrant's mental state] from the outside, like a child, and be dazzled by the display of grandeur which tyrants put on for outward show, but must look at it fairly and squarely. And if I were to think that *we should all listen to the man* who is qualified to form a judgment, *who has lived under the same roof as a tyrant, who has been in a tyrant's company and seen his behavior* – both in his private life, the way he deals with each member of his household, where he can be seen stripped of his theatrical costume and props, and then again in public, when he is in danger – *should tell the person who has seen all this to give us his report* on how that compares, in terms of true happiness and unhappiness, with other people? (577a–b, my emphasis)

In this passage, as Adam noted in his commentary, "the dialogue form is strained almost to the point of breaking. . . . We are all to be silent and listen to Plato himself."⁸

Assessing the theoretical significance of the identification

These three elements of the account of tyranny in the *Republic* combine to provide strong evidence for its identification with Dionysius I. What could be the theoretical significance of these allusions? What connections might they work to highlight? Plato did not need to place Dionysius I before his readers to convey that brutality and the arbitrary use of power

⁷ Throughout this chapter *Republic* translations are from Ferrari (2000). Citations of the Greek texts are from Burnet (1903) on Perseus Digital Library.

⁸ Adam (1969 [1902]) II, 333.

are markers of tyranny, nor to recall for readers that tyrants often whip up wars, enjoy little true friendship, are often manipulative and duplicitous and cause domestic disaffection. These features of tyranny were already part of the stock image of the tyrant in Greek literature. Why direct attention to one Sicilian tyrant in particular? Did Plato conjure a contemporary figure (contemporary to readers, not to the characters in the dialogue) in order to mobilize current empirical observation in the service of theoretical points expressed by Socrates in the dialogues, perhaps as a nod to the force of Thucydides' work? Possibly, but such a point must remain speculative. I propose that we must look more closely at the text for additional evidence of a meaningful engagement with Sicilian affairs in the *Republic*. When we do, we find that references to the rule of Dionysius I are more numerous still and that they systematically mobilize the tyrant's associations with theater. In particular, we find that the association of Dionysius I with the use of tragic theater as a means of "royal self-presentation"⁹ proved tremendously helpful to Plato as he developed an account of the place of theater in the story of the troubling continuities between democracy and tyranny and presented it to his readers.

Dionysius I and Sicilian theatrical traditions in the *Republic*

As the contributions to this volume stress, the evidence for a flourishing theatrical culture beyond Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries supported by tyrants is strong. From Plato's vantage point, we know, for example, that in his adulthood Archelaus of Macedonia commissioned work from Euripides and that the tragedian Agathon (in honor of whose victory the action of Plato's *Symposium* takes place) also had some kind of contact with Archelaus.¹⁰ Already in the time of the action of this dialogue in the fifth century a vibrant theatrical culture existed under the rule of several different Sicilian tyrants (e.g. Gelon and Hieron). For example, the comic playwright Epicharmus of Sicily was very highly regarded well beyond Sicily and Aeschylus had ties to the court of Hieron. His *Aetnaeae* was written to celebrate Hieron's re-founding of that *polis* and there is good evidence that Aeschylus' *Persians* was produced at Sicily.¹¹ Recent excavations and assessments of other material and visual evidence also supply compelling

⁹ I borrow this phrase from Duncan, this volume, 143.

¹⁰ On Euripides' ties to Macedon see Revermann (1999/2000).

¹¹ On Epicharmus, see Willi and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, this volume, and Bosher (in press). On Hieron and Aeschylus, see Bosher, this volume.

evidence for a flourishing theatrical culture under the reign of the fourth-century tyrants at Sicily.¹² Turning to the rule of Dionysius I in particular (404–367), we know that the tyrant not only supported theater in Sicily as a means to curry favor with the populace, but also aspired to be a serious playwright himself. Several titles and a few fragments of his poetry are extant.¹³ In addition, we find a collection of peculiar anecdotes about his poetry in various later sources (all of which ridicule the quality of his verse). The reputation for poor poetry notwithstanding, it is recorded that in 367 his tragedy, *Ransom of Hector*, was staged at the Lenaia, an Athenian dramatic festival – and won first prize.¹⁴

Duncan argues in this volume that Dionysius I composed tragedies and arranged for their elaborate stagings as part of a “concerted campaign” to present himself to spectators in Sicily and beyond as a “Just Ruler.” I find this suggestion and her assessment of much of the evidence more than plausible. But we should also note that in so doing Dionysius was not necessarily being particularly innovative. Oost has argued, for example, that in Syracuse “there was nothing incompatible in actuality between the fact of tyranny and the title of king, and that Syracusan monarchs or tyrants of that time did in fact assume the royal title” and promote themselves as just rulers.¹⁵ Claiming a royal title and association with justice were parts of a propaganda effort. This view fits well with other evidence we have for Dionysius’ concern to avoid allowing Athenians formally to refer to him as *tyrannos*.¹⁶ Duncan further argues that to promote his political goals and indulge his appetite for repute as a poet, Dionysius I may have experimented with some unorthodox forms and ideas, perhaps writing historical or even autobiographical tragedies. This reading is an interesting way to assemble some of the disparate and fragmentary evidence for his poetry. There is one exception. I think it is improbable that one of his “autobiographical” plays could have represented Dionysius I’s personal falling out with Plato over the proper understanding of the just ruler. Plato stresses in *Letter Seven* that Dionysius I went to great lengths to conceal their personal conflict from others, especially from the Syracusan demos, because maintaining the appearance of being a confidant, even a favorite, of the philosopher supported his propaganda efforts. Indeed, Plato reports that Dionysius I detained him for so long precisely because he was concerned to produce this

¹² On the archaeological evidence see Marconi and Dearden, this volume. On the evidence from the visual arts see Taplin (2007a) and in this volume.

¹³ The evidence is collected in Snell (1971). ¹⁴ Diod. Sic. 15.74.7. ¹⁵ Oost (1976) 224.

¹⁶ Dionysius I negotiated a treaty with the Athenians around 367 the language of which avoids calling him a *tyrannos*, choosing instead the unusual term *strategos autokrator*. This suggests he was managing his image in the larger Greek world, and especially in democratic Athens. I am indebted to Duncan, this volume, 151, for this detail.

appearance (*Letter Seven* 329d, 330a). And so, I think it highly unlikely that Dionysius would have produced a drama (“genre-bending tragicomedy” or not) attacking Plato.¹⁷ Perhaps it was Plato’s own followers who, in order to separate the philosopher from the tyrant, spread stories about their conflict, possibly even about Plato being sold into slavery by Dionysius I only to be rescued by friends of philosophy. News of a serious conflict between the two served Plato’s interests in distinguishing the idea of a philosopher assuming the title “king” from this empirical example of a tyrant who actually did assume the title king. Publicizing the conflict would not have served the interests of Dionysius.

Putting aside the question of what we can say about the specifics of the style and plot of any of the individual autobiographical plays possibly produced by Dionysius I, if it is simply true that, as Duncan proposes, he wrote and staged tragedies expressly to promote a view of his own rule as something other than a brutal tyranny and himself as something other than an unhappy, paranoid despot – that is, that his poetry was a remarkably straightforward part of a political propaganda campaign – Plato would certainly have found it useful to layer references to this figure into his critique of tyranny in the *Republic*. A main aim of that text is, after all, to blast the very notion that a benevolent tyranny and happy tyrant could ever truly exist and to show that anyone who makes such a claim is delusional. Another aim, of course, is to show that dramatic poetry clouds the judgment of its viewers, making them vulnerable to precisely such delusional thinking. I show below that Plato refers regularly to Dionysius I to develop precisely these central points of his critique of dramatic poetry.

Four additional puzzling passages from the *Republic* support the identification of Dionysius I with the portrait of the tyrant and in seeing that portrait as harboring Plato’s interest in the continuities between democracy and tyranny. Each of these passages pivots on allusions to Sicilian theatrical traditions.

First, Socrates refers first to democracy and then to tyranny as the “most delightful” of regimes (of democracy, καλλίστη αὕτη τῶν πολιτειῶν εἶναι at 557c; of tyranny, ἡ καλλίστη δὴ, ἣν ὁ ἐγὼ, πολιτεία τε καὶ ὁ κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ λοιπὰ ἂν ἡμῖν εἶη διελθεῖν, τυραννίς τε καὶ τύραννος, at 562a). The terms in these two passages are striking and so raise questions for readers. What can account for this common appellation? What charming, attractive cultural productions characterize both democracy and tyranny? Recognizing that the full passage alludes to Sicilian theatrical traditions, we can illuminate the meaning of this pair of passages. At 568c Socrates links the

¹⁷ Duncan, this volume, 147.

allure of both tyranny and democracy to their support for theatrical productions. Tragedians tour cities, “drawing great crowds and hiring actors with fine, loud persuasive voices, and so seduce those states into tyranny and democracy” (εἰς τυραννίδας τε καὶ δημοκρατίας ἔλκουσι τὰς πολιτείας 568c). He continues, in both regimes “they get paid for this, and are treated with respect. First and foremost by tyrants, as you might expect, but also by democracy.” First and foremost by tyrants, as you might expect? If we assume readers are familiar only with Athenian theater (and fifth-century poets), that comment certainly seems odd. But, if we imagine that Plato's contemporaries saw both tyrants and the Athenian demos as great patrons of tragedy and tragedians, the passage makes better sense. The point of the passage is to raise awareness of the possibility that their common support for theater signifies a shared weakness; both promote activities that corrupt their citizens' capacities for critical thinking.

Recognizing allusions to Sicilian theatrical traditions, and especially to the poetic aspirations of Dionysius I, also clarifies another difficult passage from the *Republic*: Socrates' famous exile of tragedy from the ideal city. The text of that passage in the *Republic* offers a straightforward political reason for the necessity of the exile.¹⁸ Tragedy can, and does, valorize tyranny. The exact phrasing of the point is arresting.

Writers of tragedy, being so wise, will forgive us and those with regimes like ours [ideal ones], if we refuse to accept them into our state on the grounds that they are apologists for tyranny [ἄτε τυραννίδος ὑμνητάς, 568b].

If we assume that readers are thinking only of Athenian poets and extant tragic poetry, these grounds do not make clear sense. And indeed commentators have even suggested that Socrates is being unfair to tragedians like Euripides. But, if we allow that Plato's readers could be thinking not only of Athenian theatrical traditions but also of contemporary Athenian tragedians' occasional forays to the Macedonian court of Archelaus, of Sicilian theatrical traditions flourishing under tyrants, and indeed of the poetic ambitions of Dionysius I in particular, these grounds are less puzzling.¹⁹ The passage may even be leveraging knowledge of Sicilian theater to provoke

¹⁸ That argument is, of course, deepened philosophically by the critique of mimesis that follows.

¹⁹ Adam nearly suggested this way of reading this passage in his commentary on the *Republic*. He proposed that Dionysius I likely is the model of the arrogant type of tragedian sarcastically referred to in the passage as “so wise.” In Adam's view, this passage recalls Dionysius I's reputation for “effrontery” because it alludes to the following well-known line of (bad) poetry composed by a sitting tyrant: “Tyranny is the mother of injustice.” This sentiment was a commonplace. As a notable quote from the work of the propagandist/tragedian/tyrant Dionysius I, however, it was infamous, even scandalous. See Adam (1969) II, 260 and Snell (1971) fr. 4.

some questions about the merits of the form altogether. It prods readers to ask, “How far are there troubling continuities between the work of a tragedian like Euripides (mentioned in the same passage) and a propagandist/tragedian/tyrant like Dionysius I?” The passage acknowledges the reader’s desire to distinguish between two kinds of tragedians. Adeimantus says to Socrates, for example, that some of the excluded tragedians “will forgive us. Or the more civilized of them (αὐτῶν κομψοί, 568c) will at any rate.” But the discussion of imitative poetry that follows drives home Socrates’ critique of the form they share, pushing recognition of their likeness (in contrast with philosophy). For example, Socrates allows poetry re-entrance to the ideal city only once the poets or their defenders can deliver a compelling argument in behalf of poetry being “a good thing” in another meter or in prose (607d).

Two additional references to Sicily in the *Republic* have Dionysius I in mind and both suggest tyranny’s link to unrestrained passions, a weakness that, in Plato’s view, also links tyranny and democracy. In the discussion of the physical education of the guardians in Book 3, Socrates asserts that if you want your body to be in good shape you must avoid fancy foods. He continues, addressing Glaucon, “Then if you think this is right, my friend, Syracusan cuisine and the Sicilian *à la carte* are apparently not things you approve of?” (404d). This mention of cuisine could be a reference not only to well-known Sicilian indulgences but specifically to Dionysius I. His court was famous for elaborate feasts, unusual ingredients and fancy preparations. So much so, it seems, that the anecdotal tradition attributes Dionysius I’s collapse and death in 367 to overeating and drinking at a celebration following his play’s victory at the Lenaia (Diod. Sic. 15.74). In Book 10 Socrates refers to Sicily again. Here the issue is whether good poets, like Homer, can create knowledge and whether striving to be a good poet is even a laudable aim. Socrates insists that it would be better to set one’s sights on being a memorable lawgiver. He cites three examples of lawgivers who famously resisted the allure of tyranny – the Spartan Lycurgus, Sicilian Charondas and Solon of Athens (599d). The contrast between these lawgivers and Dionysius I, a *tyrannos* who famously sought recognition as a poet, is just under the surface. Mention of the Sicilian Charondas alongside the Solon and Lycurgus is unexpected, making the implied contrast with Dionysius I more evident.

Before moving ahead we should pause to consider whether Plato’s contemporary readers had a sufficient measure of familiarity with Dionysius I to be able to recognize these allusions. Is it reasonable for us to assume that Plato could expect his particular take on Dionysius I to indeed resonate

and enter the public discourse? We have ample evidence to put this concern to rest. We know that ties between the Athenian *polis* and the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius I were topics of public discussion in Athens. For example, the Athenian poet Cinesias proposed a decree honoring Dionysius and his family in 394/3.²⁰ Lysias the orator reports that Dionysius I responded to the request of an Athenian embassy to refrain from sending triremes to assist the Spartans that same year (Lysias 19.19–20). In Aristophanes' *Wealth* the character Poverty "laments the stupidity of the Athenians" by saying that "Thrasylbulus and Dionysius are one and the same to you" (*Plutus* 550).²¹ Isocrates wrote Dionysius after the Battle of Leuctra urging him to "save Greece."²² Dionysius I and his two sons were given honorary Athenian citizenship in 368.²³ As we noted earlier, in 367 his play *Ransom of Hector* won first prize at the Lenaia. And, of course, the court of Dionysius entertained notable cultural figures from Athens, including Plato.

The dramatic setting of the *Republic* and patterned references to Sicily

Alert to the part reference to Sicilian affairs plays in Plato's presentation of the continuities between democracy and tyranny, we can see new meaning in the dramatic setting of the *Republic*. This has gone unnoticed in the scholarship because it is not often thought important that Cephalus, the *metic* whose family hosts the gathering at which the action of the dialogue takes place, is a native of Syracuse.

We know some details of Cephalus' life from his son Lysias' autobiographical speech (Lys. 12). Cephalus left Syracuse for Athens during what Finley calls the brief "democratic interlude" in the history of tyrannical rulers in Syracuse.²⁴ He left for economic reasons and, at the urging of Pericles, came to Athens. He arrived during the 450s, before the Peloponnesian War and during a period of great prosperity at Athens. He flourished, becoming one of the wealthiest men in Athens from his ownership of a shield factory. He lived in Athens for more than thirty years. Commentators have noted that his personal history and connection to the democratic stronghold of Peiraeus suggest some of the features of "democratic man" that Socrates

²⁰ *IG* II.2 3028 with Nails (2002) 98.

²¹ I am indebted to Sanders (1987) 12 for this reference. ²² Sanders (1987) 5.

²³ See Pomeroy *et al.* (1999) 364–7 for review of Athenian views of Dionysius.

²⁴ Finley (1979) 58.

details later in the text, that is, his passion for money-making, short attention span and abrupt movement from one activity to the next as the mood strikes. That the notable life stories of his sons Polemarchus and Lysias could also be meaningful has received little attention. This is unfortunate as their stories suggest some of the ways in which democracies produce tyrannical forms of power, giving credence to a main argument of Book 8 that democracies are exquisitely vulnerable to slippage into tyranny (if not in the sense of a full-scale regime change then at least in the sense of bringing about tyrannical episodes of consequence).

The action of the dialogue is set at the home of Polemarchus, a son of Cephalus who has a prominent speaking role in Book 1 of the *Republic* advocating the (later rejected) view that justice involves helping friends and harming enemies (332a–c). The silent presence of Cephalus' other son, Lysias (the famous orator) is surely also significant.²⁵ How does Sicily fit into the story of these two sons beyond the family's Syracusan origins? Most importantly, the sons of Cephalus were among the colonists who founded Thurii in Sicily in about 443 or so. Thurii was a remarkable experiment. Protagoras (of "man is the measure" fame and whose name provides the title of another Platonic dialogue) designed the colony's law code at the request of Pericles, and the colonists, all of whom would enjoy citizenship status in the new colony, seem to have had some idealistic aims.²⁶ During the Peloponnesian War, the Thurians sent ships to help the democratic leader of Syracuse, Hermocrates, subdue the Athenian forces threatening Sicily. A wave of anti-Athenian sentiment hit Thurii following that Athenian expedition and Lysias and Polemarchus opted to return to Athens (as *metics*). Once back in Athens these brothers fared badly. The Thirty executed Polemarchus (and confiscated his considerable wealth). Lysias escaped and left Athens to join the exiled democratic partisans led by Thrasybulus. He fought alongside exiled citizens to topple The Thirty and restore the democracy. Back in Athens Lysias quickly found himself at the center of controversy over an "unconstitutional" policy pursued by over-zealous returning democratic partisans. Thrasybulus proposed that all *metics*, foreigners and slaves who

²⁵ The silent presence of Lysias might be due to his age at the time of the dramatic date of the *Republic*, that is, if we date the action of the *Republic* before his departure to Thurii in about 430 (explained below). At that time Lysias would have been a young teenager (about 15). If we date the *Republic* later, we would have to explain the silent presence of a famous orator in some other way.

²⁶ For discussion of the measure of idealism that may have motivated the colonists see Fleming (2002). For discussion of the collaboration of Protagoras and Pericles regarding Thurii, see O'Sullivan (1995). For an account of the involvement of Lysias and Polemarchus in Thurii see Nails (2002) 190–4 and 251.

had supported him and the overthrow of The Thirty be given full Athenian citizenship. The decree passed. This sounds modestly progressive to us given how routine the naturalization process is in modern liberal democratic societies. But granting citizenship to *metics* and freed slaves – even those who served with distinction in the Athenian military – was a very radical idea at Athens. So it is not surprising that an Athenian statesman successfully challenged this policy and the offers of citizenship were revoked. Nor should it surprise us that moderation-loving Aristotle showers that statesman, Archinus, with extraordinary praise precisely for his opposition to the citizenship decree proposed by Thrasybulus (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 40.1–2).²⁷

In Plato's view, the stories of the ethnic Syracusan *metics* at Athens,²⁸ Polemarchus and Lysias, brought to mind moments at which the Athenian demos acted impulsively and thus irresponsibly. The turbulent life stories of Polemarchus and Lysias recall what we can imagine Plato categorizing as “tyrannical episodes” in the history of Athenian democracy that predate the clearest example of such proclivities in Plato's view – the prosecution of Socrates. The Sicilian expedition, The Thirty²⁹ and Thrasybulus' overreaching are all episodes that Plato casts as empirical exemplars of the dangerous tyrannical proclivities that inhere in democracy, an argument developed theoretically in Books 8 and 9. Setting the action of this dialogue at the home of Polemarchus signals that a central theme of the inquiry into justice about to unfold is the troubling continuities between democracy and tyranny.

Supporting evidence from the *Gorgias*

If knowledge of Dionysius I and Sicilian affairs in general are among the resources Plato draws on to craft the presentation of his critique of tyranny, and especially to make a case for the troubling continuities between tyranny and democracy, we should expect to find evidence of this in the *Gorgias*. The critique of rhetoric in the *Gorgias* turns on Socrates' ability to undermine the attraction that mastery of rhetoric holds, an attraction that he and his interlocutors identify as both central to the practice of democracy and very

²⁷ For discussion of Aristotle's assessment of Archinus see Frank and Monoson (2009).

²⁸ For discussion of the figure of the *metic* in ancient political thought see Kasimis (2010).

²⁹ It seems that Plato did not treat this episode as an oligarchic revolution but as a tyrannical interlude in the history of Athenian democracy. This is consistent with the references to The Thirty in *Letter Seven*. In the *Apology*, moreover, Socrates treats the rule of The Thirty as an example of the violent excesses of one faction in a democracy, not necessarily as the actions of separate, oligarchic regime.

much “like” the allure of holding a tyranny. This likening comes out in the exchange between Socrates and the ethnic Sicilian Polus at 466b–e.³⁰ Socrates insists that, contrary to common opinion, “orators have the least power of any in the city” (466b). Polus answers him, “Really? Don’t they, like tyrants, [ὥσπερ οἱ τύραννοι, 466b10] put to death anyone they want and confiscate the property and banish from the cities anyone they see fit?” To which Socrates responds, yes, “both orators and tyrants have the least power in their cities. . . . They do just about nothing they want to, though they certainly do whatever they see most fit to do” (466d–e). “What an outrageous thing to say, Socrates,” Polus explodes. “Perfectly monstrous!” (4667b).³¹ And so, one of Socrates’ goals in this dialogue turns out to be to persuade his listeners that tyrannical power and, correspondingly, rhetorical skill, are not indeed in themselves desirable. Having great power and being wildly happy are, Socrates argues in the *Gorgias*, properly understood to be vastly different from possession of tyrannical rule or exceptional rhetorical skills. Plato’s effort to knit together his critiques of rhetoric and tyrannical rule establishes a major theme of the *Gorgias*: the worrisome continuities between democracy and tyranny.

So, how far does the substantive argument of the *Gorgias* press the example of Dionysius I into service? Does the text activate the author’s knowledge of this Sicilian tyrant to enliven the argument about the continuities between democracy and tyranny? It does. It is even possible that one attraction of the *Gorgias* for readers in mid fourth-century Athens was its veiled discourse on the (contemporaneous) flamboyant ruler of this rival *polis*. In any case, I propose that key features of the argument of the *Gorgias* refer to Sicily and forecast arguments further developed in the *Republic* at places I have already shown to be animated by allusions to Dionysius I. As a preliminary note, the scholarship on the date of composition of the *Gorgias* is consistent with the suggestion that knowledge of Dionysius I informs its content. It places the composition of the *Gorgias* very soon after Plato’s first visit to Syracuse.³²

The *Gorgias* first alludes to Dionysius I in Socrates’ exchange with Polus over the happiness of the tyrant. Polus refers to “current events” in a manner that recalls not only a contemporary of the dialogue’s action, Archelaus of Macedonia, but a reader’s contemporary, Dionysius I, as well. The passage

³⁰ Polus of Acragas in Sicily. See Nails (2002) 252.

³¹ Translations from the *Gorgias* throughout this essay are from Cooper (1997). Citations from the Greek text are from Burnet (1903) on Perseus Digital Library.

³² Dodds suggests that the sequence of composition is the *Euthydemus*, visit to Sicily, *Gorgias*, *Menexenus*. See Dodds (1979) 27.

in question starts with Polus expressing longing for a taste of tyrannical power. He has a hard time accepting Socrates' view that people who have acquired vast tyrannical power are, by definition, not happy. Challenging Socrates on the misery of the tyrant, Polus says: "There is no need to refer to ancient history to refute you. Why, current events quite suffice to do that." Polus strikingly distinguishes between a tedious look back at the past for evidence and the easy availability of contemporary evidence to show that many people who behave unjustly are indeed happy (οὐδέν γέ σε δεῖ παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἐλέγχειν: τὰ γὰρ ἐχθὲς καὶ πρώην γεγονότα ταῦτα ἱκανά σε ἐξελέγξαι ἐστὶν καὶ ἀποδείξαι ὥς πολλοὶ ἀδικοῦντες ἄνθρωποι εὐδαίμονες εἰσιν, 470c–d). He explicitly identifies two contemporaries (of the action of the dialogue) whom he considers supremely happy because they are able to commit horrible crimes with impunity. On your reasoning, he asks Socrates, are Archelaus of Macedonia and indeed the Great King of Persia actually miserable? (*Gorgias* 470d–e). It is almost as if Polus is a stand-in for Plato's contemporaries who wonder, are you, Plato, really saying that Dionysius I is unhappy? That the example of Dionysius I is just below the surface is even clearer when Socrates playfully suggests that actually he cannot really judge the happiness of Archelaus because he has not met the man (οὐ γάρ πω συγγέγονα τῷ ἀνδρί, 470d8) – a proviso that does not apply to the author's ability to judge his contemporary, Dionysius, as he again stresses at *Republic* 577a (when Plato inserts his own voice into the action).

Three additional passages from the *Gorgias* allude to Dionysius I and Sicily. Two refer to the excessive indulgences that characterize Sicilian culture in the Athenian imaginary. The third refers explicitly to Sicilian theatrical traditions.

Socrates attributes the origins of the notable soul/sieve analogy of the *Gorgias* to a Sicilian teller of stories (493a–d). At this point in the dialogue Socrates is trying to explain the misery of a man who suffers *pleonexia*, a condition of insatiable desire, to which democratic souls are vulnerable and which defines a tyrannical soul. Socrates argues that a miserable soul is like a leaking sieve (493b); peace is elusive because no matter how furiously one tries to fill up the container and enjoy its pleasures, the contents keep seeping out, requiring endless labors to continually replenish it. This soul can never be sated but is always struggling, constantly in want and distress. Socrates reworks the tale a second time only a few lines later. This tale too, he says, originated "in the same school" (493d), that is, "in Sicily or at least Italy." Here we get an image of a pair of lives. One man's life is like a sound, full jar. The other's is like a leaky, rotten one. The life that is akin

to a leaky, rotten jar is characterized by constant labor. Such a life is miserable. It is bereft of enjoyment, rest, relaxation and satisfaction (493e–494a). What meaning can we find in the attribution of these images to a Sicilian? Sicilians, and especially the renowned Dionysius I, were, in the Athenian imaginary, famously gluttonous. And so the empirical references seem designed to enliven the theoretical point about the nature of a tyrannical soul.

In Socrates' discussion of whether rhetoric and poetry can claim to make their hearers better or are, at best, forms of demagoguery (502c10–d2) we find a reference to Dionysius I's poetic aspirations. Socrates suggests it is necessary to look at the "majestic, awe-inspiring practice of the composition of tragedy" (502a). Can poets educate or merely gratify spectators? Stripped of its adornments, is dramatic poetry really a form of demagoguery? Socrates directly asks Callicles:

Don't you think poets practice oratory in the theatre?

οὐ ῥητορεύειν δοκοῦσί σοι οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις;

Yes, I do.

So now we've discovered a popular oratory of a kind that's addressed to men, women, and children, slave and free alike. (502d)

A poet practicing oratory in the theater seems a near explicit reference to Dionysius, the tyrant/dramatist who unabashedly utilized dramatic poetry and theatrical productions as vehicles for promulgating a propagandistic view of his own rule and self.³³ This passage anticipates the argument in the *Republic* for banishing the poets on the grounds that they are apologists for tyranny (discussed above re: *Republic* 568b). Taplin has suggested another reason to see allusions to Sicily in this striking passage. He proposes that this passage assumes the conditions of Sicilian, as opposed to Athenian, theatrical culture.³⁴ Taplin's concern is the evaluation of the evidence for the presence of women in the audience of the ancient dramatic festivals. The evidence is notoriously difficult because it seems contradictory, and there is no consensus in the scholarship. Taplin proposes that the earlier literary evidence for women's presence in the theater may refer to Sicilian norms, and the earlier literary evidence for the exclusion of women from the theater may refer to Athenian norms. Later sources indicating the presence of women

³³ A more direct reference to Dionysius I would have introduced a blatant anachronism into the text of the *Gorgias*. While the several indicators of the dialogue's dramatic date conflict, all place the action during the years of the Peloponnesian War, years before the rule of Dionysius I.

³⁴ Taplin, "Were Women Among the Theatre Audience in Ancient Athens? And Does It Matter?" a talk delivered at Northwestern University, Nov. 5, 2008, as part of the John E. Sawyer Seminar Series, 2008–10.

among the spectators at Athens, he offers, likely refer to a development at Athens that was possibly influenced by contact with Sicilian customs. Taplin thus suggests that this passage in the *Gorgias* – a passage that explicitly refers to a kind of theater that is addressed to men, women, and children, slave and free alike (502d) – assumes the example of Sicilian theater-going customs or the Sicilian influence on the development of Athenian customs.³⁵

More *Gorgias* passages demonstrate that Plato fashions evocations of Dionysius I to augment his account of the continuities between democracy and tyranny. Socrates famously calls up his reader's knowledge of his own fate at the hands of an Athenian jury when he tells Callicles that he has little confidence in the ability of ordinary members of the demos to judge him well. Any prosecution of Socrates will resemble the following scenario:

I'll be judged the way a doctor would be judged by a jury of children if a pastry chef were to bring accusations against him. (521e)

At this point in the text Socrates has just completed his critique of oratory and is trying to cast himself as the "only one among our contemporaries to take up the true political craft and practice true politics" (521d). Nevertheless, he acknowledges, he is very likely to be misunderstood, even ridiculed. To explain he offers the clever Callicles a metaphor he had earlier used to try to communicate with Polus (a lesser intellect, cf. 465c). The inference we are supposed to draw from this image, of course, is that the critical capacities of the jurors are pathetic and that orators are masters at exploiting their vulnerabilities. The jurors/citizens are likened to sick children who neglect a doctor's recommendations because a fancy chef entices them into believing that the doctor is wrong to say medicines can help more than a plate of rich sweets. The pastry chef in this example, like a demagogue in a democracy or a tyrannical propagandist, stimulates and directs desires that benefit his own standing, all the time pretending to be tending to the well-being of others. Socrates prods interlocutors to ask, "Is the pastry chef a good caretaker of the body?" "In what cultural environment would the answer be, 'Yes'?" Socrates' doctor/pastry chef comparison indicts everyday contemporary Athens under the democracy and, I think, everyday Sicily under the tyranny of Dionysius I as well. Why think Sicily as well as Athens is in play here? Plato sets up the link earlier in text. At *Gorgias* 518d Socrates identified excellence at pastry baking with a notable Sicilian, the Syracusan

³⁵ The *Gorgias* reiterates an awareness of Sicilian dramatic traditions by mentioning Epicharmus, the notable Sicilian comic dramatist, at 505e.

Mithaecus. He cites this Sicilian author of a book about pastry baking along with an Athenian wine merchant and Attic baker as wonderful caretakers of the body in the eyes of most people.³⁶

Concluding remarks

Critical examination of the allure of unrestrained power and democracy's tendency to unleash the tyrannical impulses of individuals and cities did not of course start with Plato. Neither did the practice of setting Sicily at the center of attention to this theme. Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War had already placed the Sicilian campaign at the crest of his depiction of the relationship between democracy and empire.³⁷ Plato exploits his reader's familiarity with these connections. But Plato's use of references to Sicily to situate theater at the center of an investigation of the continuities between democracy and tyranny was innovative. In this chapter, I have shown that Plato relied on references to Sicilian manners, rulers and practices to keep the key role of theater in his account of the continuities between democracy and tyranny before his readers. In particular, the portrait of the tyrant in *Republic* Books 8 and 9 recalls the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius I, reiterates the *Gorgias*' attack on tyrannical power's appeal (developed with references to Sicilian affairs) and systematically deploys patterned sets of allusions to Sicilian theatrical practices, including the poetic aspirations of Dionysius I.

³⁶ See Nails (2002) 260, 278 and 341.

³⁷ For example, Thucydides depicts the Athenian empire as a tyrannical outgrowth of democratic power. Both Pericles and Cleon refer to Athenian rule (*archē*) as a "tyranny" (2.63.2 and 3.37.2), the Athenians' decision to attempt to subdue Sicily is likened to an act of unimpeded eros (6.19, 24) and the Athenians are said to have turned on Alcibiades because they worried he aspired to tyranny (6.15.4).

PART II

Stone theaters, wooden stages, and Western performance traditions

9 | Between performance and identity

The social context of stone theaters in late Classical and Hellenistic Sicily

CLEMENTE MARCONI

During the course of the fifth century BC, several non-Greek centers in Sicily saw the adoption of architectural features and building types imported from the island's Greek colonies.¹ These architectural features and building types were new to the local architectural tradition and they had a profound effect on the landscape of the non-Greek settlements. Of this phenomenon, the unfinished, Doric temple at Segesta represents the most impressive manifestation.² This building was the last, large Greek Doric peripteral temple built in Sicily, and the heir to a long tradition, which had started in the early Archaic period and had found its major manifestations at centers such as Syracuse, Acragas, and Selinus. By building this large, peripteral temple, Segesta was remodeling its architectural landscape following the example of the powerful Greek colonies on the coast, an attitude that is not surprising considering that during the years in which the temple was being built, the people of Segesta did not hesitate to seek help from international powers such as Athens and Carthage to resolve their territorial disputes with Selinus. In fact, the architectural expression of Segesta's desire to resemble the Greek colonies of the island took place precisely in the years in which this Elymian town was engaged in a fight to the death with Selinus, one of these Greek colonies. This is a situation that is very revealing about the ability of architecture to cross, under particular geographical and historical circumstances, the boundaries set by ethnicity and culture.

In Sicily, these particular circumstances were the result of the high degree of interaction between Greeks and non-Greeks, an interaction that had taken place since the time of the earliest colonial foundations.³ Inter-marriages were frequent, the non-Greeks were often used as the workforce in the Greek colonies, and small groups of Greeks occasionally resided among the

I would like to thank Kathryn Boshier for inviting me to participate in the Northwestern University theater conference and to contribute to this volume. I would also like to thank Sonia Amaral Rohter for helping me with the editing of my text.

¹ See in general Albanese Procelli (2003) 214–15; Palermo (2005) 120.

² Mertens (1984a); Mertens (2006) 406–16.

³ AA. VV. (1983) *Forme di contatto*; La Rosa (1989) and (1996); Hall (2003); Hall, this volume.

non-Greek communities in the hinterland. This all prompted a process of acculturation (often improperly referred to as “Hellenization”) of the local populations, particularly of their elites, which brought about the adoption of Greek social institutions. This process of acculturation had been completed by the middle of the fifth century BC (it should suffice here to mention the case of Ducetius, the Sikel leader who received a Greek education): from the second half of the fifth century onward, throughout most of Sicily there is little in the material culture that can be described as having a specifically non-Greek milieu, and at the time of the systematic repopulation of the island under Timoleon, the non-Greek sites, including the Punic ones, became virtually indistinguishable from the Greek ones. This general process of acculturation is nowhere more apparent than in architecture, and the unfinished temple at Segesta stands as the best representative of this phenomenon.

One may find it surprising that I begin my essay on late Classical and Hellenistic theaters in Sicily with a reference to the temples of the Archaic and Classical periods. But it is important to consider that during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, theaters became one of the favorite manifestations of monumental architecture all over the Mediterranean, often replacing temples in this capacity. In fact, during these periods many polities invested more of their public money and labor force on theaters rather than temples. Suffice it here to mention the case of Athens, in which a major restructuring of the theater of Dionysus took place over the course of the fourth century BC, particularly under Lycurgus (338–326).⁴ The restructuring of the theater of Dionysus was the main public building enterprise in Athens during the late Classical period. The enterprise consisted of the expansion of the auditorium and the introduction of the stage building, and it made the theater of Dionysus into the central feature of the urban landscape, thanks to its size, location, and integration into the street system. The case of Athens is sometimes regarded as an exception within the fourth century; however, stone theaters dating back to the same period are documented all over the Mediterranean, including not only Mainland Greece (e.g. Epidaurus) and South Italy (e.g. Metapontum), but also Sicily.

Recent literature has argued that stone theaters in Sicily, rather than dating back to the late Classical–early Hellenistic period, represent a later phenomenon, belonging to the time in which the island had become a Roman Province. These recent arguments require a new discussion concerning the dating of Sicilian stone theaters (see the appendix at the end of this chapter).

⁴ Goette (1995) 22–32; Knell (2000) 126–47; Gogos (2008) 69–84.



Figure 9.1 Taormina, the theater

Sicily is well known for its many stone theaters, at sites like Taormina, Catana, and Segesta. Since many theaters are known, it is often assumed that we know much about them, especially regarding the date of their original construction and of their later alterations.⁵ However, the evidence is very limited and very problematic for at least two important reasons. The first reason is that many theaters were substantially altered during the Roman period. During the Imperial period, the Roman rulers and the local elites in Sicily invested heavily in structures for spectacles,⁶ and as a consequence almost all the theaters at major centers were significantly transformed, and most of the evidence for their earlier phases was eliminated. One need only mention the case of the theater at Taormina (Figure 9.1), in which the later Imperial phases have substantially canceled most of the evidence for an

⁵ The best general discussions of the architectural and archaeological evidence concerning Greek theaters in Sicily are offered by Pace (1935–49) II, 302–35; Mitens (1988); Todisco (2002) 167–92; Tosi (2003), 587–640.

⁶ See in general Belvedere (1988); Wilson (1990b) 57–87; E. C. Portale in Portale, Angiolillo, and Vismara (2005).



Figure 9.2 Syracuse, view of the theater c. 1840

earlier, Hellenistic phase.⁷ The second reason involves the intensive works of excavation and restoration to which the ancient theaters of Sicily were subjected in the nineteenth century.⁸ It is not always fully realized today that, between the 1820s and the 1840s, most of the ancient theaters in Sicily were subjected to an aggressive campaign of excavation and restoration: it is sufficient here to mention the theater at Segesta, which was completely excavated and restored in a matter of months, between 1832 and 1833. The driving force behind this aggressive campaign of excavation and restoration was the passion for opera and theater that inflamed Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The architect Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, one of the first excavators at Taormina, was also the designer of the Théâtre-Italien and of many other buildings for spectacles in Paris.⁹ The Duke of Serradifalco, the driving force behind the research, excavation, restoration and publication of the theaters at Segesta, Syracuse (Figure 9.2), Acrae, Taormina, and Tyndaris, was the superintendent for festivals and spectacles in Palermo.¹⁰ Thanks to the passion of men such as these for the theater and the opera,

⁷ See esp. Sear (1996). ⁸ Lo Iacono and Marconi (1997) and (1998).

⁹ Hammer (1968); Schneider (1977); Hittorff (AA. VV. 1986) and (1987).

¹⁰ E. Sessa in Sarullo (1993): vol. 1, 262ff.

we can now see many beautiful ancient theaters all over Sicily. However, to that same passion we also owe the fact that too often the original historical context of those theaters remains unclear. Archaeological excavation made significant progress over the course of the twentieth century, but only more recently has careful, stratigraphic excavation become the norm in Sicilian archaeology.

Before stratigraphic excavation began to be used in Sicilian archaeology, the traditional narrative concerning the use of stone theaters on the island was based on a dangerous attempt, of truly Antiquarian character, at combining monumental and literary evidence. According to this traditional narrative,¹¹ the first stone theater was built in Syracuse in the early fifth century BC at the time in which Aeschylus was a guest of Hieron I, and some of his dramas were performed on the local stage. This first stone theater occupied the same location as the great theater of the Hellenistic period. Afterwards, stone theaters would have become a fixture in several centers of the island between the fifth and third centuries, before the transformation of Sicily into a Roman Province. After that transformation, only in the Imperial period would there have been a renewed interest in monumental theaters on this island.

I have noted that this traditional narrative was based on a dangerous attempt at combining monumental and literary evidence. I am referring to the idea that the great age of Sicilian stone theaters coincided with that of the great flourishing of drama on the island, as documented by literary sources mentioning the work of Epicharmus and Aeschylus. This traditional narrative was also based on a larger cultural-historical assumption. This was the notion that the great age of Sicilian stone theaters coincided with the period of political independence and economic flourishing of the island, before the major crisis of the end of the fifth century BC and the later transformation of Sicily into a Roman Province. This traditional narrative has been so influential that a late reflection of it can still be found in recent literature on the theater at Syracuse. Some authors have, in fact, claimed until not long ago that a series of cuttings in the area of the orchestra of this building belong to a first phase in the early fifth century.¹² A careful analysis, however, clearly shows that these cuttings date to the late Roman period.¹³ The dating of the stone theater at Syracuse is indicated by the inscriptions engraved on the *diazoma* separating the *epitheatron* from the *ima cavea*. These inscriptions mention, along with the names of some gods,

¹¹ Best exemplified by Arias (1934) 138–51.

¹² See esp. Anti (1947) 83–106; Polacco and Anti (1981).

¹³ Bernabò Brea (1967) 147–9; Mertens (1984b); Mertens (2004) 32.

the names of king Hieron II, who ruled Syracuse between 238 and 215 BC, and of other members of his family.

As a matter of fact, between the 1950s and the 1970s, archaeological investigations at several theaters in the island, particularly at Heraclea Minoa, Syracuse, Tyndaris, and Iaitas, had disproved the early dating of Sicilian stone theaters proposed by the traditional narrative, by showing that the earliest buildings of this type on the island date to after the middle of the fourth century BC.¹⁴ Stone theaters in Sicily thus postdate the great flourishing of drama on the island, meaning the age of Epicharmus and Aeschylus. It is not by chance that representations of the stage on red-figured Sicilian vases generally refer to structures made of wood, which are not particularly elaborate.¹⁵

In more recent years, archaeological research at the theaters of Segesta and Soluntum has disproved a second tenet of the traditional narrative, namely the idea that no stone theaters were built in the years following the transformation of Sicily into a Roman Province. The Roman Province of Sicily has too often been considered only under economic terms, as the granary of Rome, with little consideration given to civic life, public performances and monumental architecture. As a result, a gap has often been posited in the building of monumental theaters on the island between the middle of the third century BC and the Imperial period. Recent excavations at the theater of Segesta (Figure 9.3), however, have not only brought to light the *summa cavea*, but they have also shown that the materials from the fills underneath the auditorium of this part of the building date to the second half of the second century BC. This has led to a new dating of the entire building to the late second century BC.¹⁶ As for Soluntum, a new architectural and archaeological investigation of the theater has suggested a similar new dating of this building to the second century BC.¹⁷

¹⁴ I am leaving aside the so-called rectilinear theater in Syracuse, which is dated to the fifth century BC. The original function of this building remains unclear, but the structure is certainly too small to have been used for dramatic performances attended by large crowds (skepticism on the function of the building as a “theater” is expressed by Nielsen (2002) 145–6; Todisco (2002) 184; Mertens (2006) 313; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco (2007) 843–4).

¹⁵ On the representation of theatrical structures in south Italian and Sicilian red-figure vase-painting see Massei (1974); Todisco (1990); Bacilieri (2001); Todisco (2002); Roscino (2003) 271–82; De Cesare (2005). For further discussion of south Italian and Sicilian vases with comic subjects, see Green, Taplin, Dearden and MacLachlan, all in this volume. For further discussion of vases with tragic subjects, see Todisco and Taplin, this volume.

¹⁶ D’Andria (1997) 430–40 (2005).

¹⁷ Wiegand (1997), but cf. Isler (2001); Wolf (forthcoming) 121, suggests a slightly later dating, to the end of the third, beginning of the second century BC.



Figure 9.3 Segesta, the theater

The new dating of the theaters of Segesta and Soluntum accords well with the situation of relative prosperity, also as regards civic life and spectacles, experienced by many centers in Sicily after the transformation of the island into a Roman Province.¹⁸ In fact, there is enough epigraphical evidence, particularly from Syracuse, to suggest that spectacles, including dramas and poetic and music competitions, were thriving on the island.¹⁹ However, this general reassessment of the chronology of Hellenistic theaters in Sicily has also led to a dangerous trend towards a generalized down-dating of most, if not all the theatrical buildings on the island, mainly based on the argument that sound archaeological evidence for earlier dates is missing.²⁰

This line of thinking is disproved by the evidence from old and new excavations. The evidence from the excavations at Heraclea Minoa is strongly suggestive of a dating of the local theater before the middle of the third

¹⁸ Finley (1979) 122–47; Manganaro (1980); Wilson (1990b) 17–32; Wilson (2000); Prag (2003); E. C. Portale in Portale, Angiolillo, and Vismara (2005) 17–186; Zambon (2008) 246–63.

¹⁹ *IG* xiv, nos. 12–13; Manganaro (1963) 57–61; Moretti (1963); Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 295; Manganaro (1980) 446; Aneziri (2001–2); Todisco (2002) 133; Aneziri (2003) 400–2 nos. F1–F4.

²⁰ See esp. D’Andria (2005) 184 and Campagna (2006) 16–21. Contra Isler (2003b) 290–1.

century BC.²¹ Likewise, the materials from the fills under the auditorium of Iaitas are no later than the end of the fourth century, suggesting a dating of this building to the last decade of the fourth century.²² The evidence from Iaitas is now confirmed by the new excavations at the theater at Monte dei Cavalli,²³ a site which is generally identified with ancient Hippana.²⁴ These new excavations at Monte dei Cavalli have not only considerably expanded our understanding of the architecture of the local theater, but they have also produced significant archaeological evidence for its dating. This archaeological evidence consists of a votive deposit in the area of the orchestra, which points to a date for construction of the theater in the third quarter of the fourth century.

The evidence from Monte dei Cavalli not only supports the dating of the earliest stone theaters in Sicily to a date still within the limits of the late Classical period, but it is also strongly suggestive of a connection between the construction of the first generation of stone theaters and the revival of Sicily between the second half of the fourth century BC and the beginning of the third. This revival is traditionally associated with the name of the Corinthian general Timoleon, who landed in Sicily in 344 and, after expelling Dionysius II from Syracuse and deposing other tyrants, was able to defeat Carthage on the battlefield.²⁵

According to the ancient literary sources, the driving force behind the revival of Sicily under Timoleon was his program involving the repopulation of many centers through the introduction of new colonists. This process of repopulation generated increasing economic prosperity, which brought about a program of urbanization and monumentalization of the urban landscape, through the construction of walls, temples, and spaces and buildings for political and communal activities, such as the agora, *bouleuteria*, and especially theaters.

Diodorus' account of the repopulation of Sicily by Timoleon (16.83.1–3), and of its consequence for urbanism and monumental architecture on the island down to the time of Hieron II, deserves to be quoted in full:

So, having established peaceful conditions everywhere throughout Sicily, he caused the cities to experience a vast growth of prosperity. For many years, because of domestic troubles and border wars, and still more because of the numbers of tyrants

²¹ See De Miro (1958) 73–5; De Miro (1966) 167–8.

²² See more recently Isler (2003b) 290–1.

²³ See Vassallo in this volume, with earlier literature.

²⁴ On the identification of Monte dei Cavalli with ancient Hippana see Tusa (1961); Michelini (1992) 325–6; Gandolfo (1997a); Manganaro (1997).

²⁵ Sordi (1961); (1980) 257–82; Talbert (1974); Finley (1979) 94–101; Westlake (1994) 706–22.

who kept constantly appearing, the cities had become destitute of inhabitants and the open country had become a wilderness for lack of cultivation, producing no useful crops. But now new settlers streamed into the land in great numbers, and as a long period of peace set in, the fields were reclaimed for cultivation and bore abundant crops of all sorts. These the Siceliot Greeks sold to merchants at good prices and rapidly increased their wealth.

It was by reason of the funds so acquired that many large constructions were completed in that period. There was, first, the structure in Syracuse on the Island called the "Hall of the Sixty Couches," which surpassed all the other buildings of Sicily in size and grandeur. This was built by Agathocles the despot, and since, in its pretentiousness, it went beyond the temples of the gods, so it received a mark of Heaven's displeasure in being struck by lightning. Then there were the towers along the shore of the Little Harbour with their mosaic inscriptions of varicoloured stones, proclaiming the name of their founder, Agathocles. Comparable to these but a little later, in the time of Hiero the king, there was built the Olympieum in the market and the altar beside the theatre, a stade in length and proportionally high and broad.

Among the lesser cities is to be reckoned Agyrium, but since it shared in the increase of settlers due to this agricultural prosperity, it built the finest theatre in Sicily after that of Syracuse, together with temples of the gods, a council chamber, and a market. There were also memorable towers, as well as pyramidal monuments of architectural distinction marking graves, many and great. (Translation by C. Bradford Welles)

Diodorus' account of the repopulation of Sicily under Timoleon and its consequences for urbanism and monumental architecture has long since been confirmed by archaeological investigations at various sites,²⁶ including Heraclea Minoa²⁷ and Camarina,²⁸ two towns that were systematically rebuilt according to orthogonal plans, and furnished with public buildings, both civic and religious.

The new evidence from Monte dei Cavalli confirms that stone theaters were included from the outset in this new wave of urbanism and monumental building of the second half of the fourth century BC. After being abandoned during the fifth century, Monte dei Cavalli was reoccupied around the middle of the fourth, achieving a notable level of demographic and economic development, which seems to have ended abruptly with the Roman conquest in 258 BC, if, in fact, the site is to be identified with ancient Hippana. The construction of a stone theater, dated by the votive deposit in

²⁶ See esp. Adamesteanu (1958a) and Orlandini (1958); Talbert (1974) 146–60; on the recovery of the Sicilian economy under Timoleon see also Galvagno (2000) 155–6.

²⁷ De Miro (1958).

²⁸ Di Vita (1958) 83–91; Di Stefano (2004); Pelagatti, Di Stefano, and de Lachenal (2006).

the orchestra to the third quarter of the fourth century, was apparently among the first building activities that took place at this center after its reoccupation.

This link between the introduction of stone theaters, repopulation, and economic growth – pointed out by Diodorus and confirmed by the evidence from Monte dei Cavalli – is, I believe, critical.

It is apparent that between the fourth and the third century BC stone theaters took on the role that temples once held in the Archaic and Classical periods, as symbols of the political independence, wealth, and power of the communities, even small ones, that built them.²⁹ But along with this symbolic value, it may be suggested that stone theaters also had an essential role in creating or reinforcing social cohesion within those communities. In order to understand this point, two facts need to be taken into consideration. The first is that the repopulation of Sicily under Timoleon consisted of the introduction of Greeks of various provenances into several centers on the island. According to literary sources, those who responded to the offers of land and citizenship of Syracuse provided by Timoleon – be they Siceliots who had gone away and were now returning to the island, or Greeks who had not previously lived in Sicily – came from various regions of the Greek world: from Sicily itself, but also from Italy, mainland Greece, Asia Minor, and the Aegean islands.³⁰ These newcomers joined in their new settlements those who had remained in their homes. The second fact that needs to be taken into consideration, is that between the fourth and third centuries, particularly in western and central Sicily, the frontier was highly unstable, due to the wars against Carthage conducted first by Syracuse, and then by Rome. As a result, several centers in Sicily shifted from Punic to anti-Punic control, their citizens being split among opposing political factions.³¹

Under such complex historical circumstances, within the new and old communities, there must have been a particular need to avoid civil strife, while at the same time creating or reinforcing social cohesion.³² The role of theaters in this process should not be underestimated. This is because theater, along with language, was one of the only elements that remained common to most of these Greeks of different provenance, or who belonged to opposing political factions. To use the words of Richard Green, explaining

²⁹ See Marconi (2007) on temples; on theaters see Hesberg (2009).

³⁰ Sordi (1961) 47–52, 72–80; (1983) 65–80; Westlake (1994) 716–17; Mossé (1999); Smarczyk (2003) 117–41.

³¹ Gallo (1982) 924–30.

³² For stasis as an endemic problem of Greek *poleis* in Sicily, caused by the mixed provenance of their populations (cf. already the words of Alcibiades in Thucydides 6.17.2) see esp. Gallo (1982) 920–1, 928–9 and Berger (1992).

the increasing success of theater during the Hellenistic period: “attendance at the theater had become a social practice which Greeks in general shared. Theatrical performance was a common language. The subject-matter of comedy was everyman. Theatrical motifs were universally understood.”³³ That drama was thriving in Sicily during the fourth and third centuries is revealed on the one hand by the numerous names of Sicilian dramatists documented by literary sources, and on the other by the reflection of the stage in the local production of painted vases and terracottas.³⁴

Dramatic performances, however, do not seem to have been the only reason for the spread of stone theaters. Another important factor must have been the political function of this type of building which, according to literary and epigraphic sources, appears to have been particularly significant in Sicily during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. I am referring to the use of theaters as spaces for political meetings, a function that is too often neglected in the standard literature on Greek drama.³⁵

In ancient literature there is a reference to the use of theaters for the gathering of assemblies in Sicily as early as the fifth century BC. This is a passage by Frontinus,³⁶ which mentions a speech given by Alcibiades in the theater of Acragas on the occasion of the Athenian expedition, in 415. Some modern commentators have been inclined to trust Frontinus. However, when considered against other sources referring to the same episode (which never mention a theater),³⁷ this passage by the Roman author appears to contain so many errors, including the location of the speech (Acragas instead of Catana), that it can hardly be regarded as reliable evidence for the use, in the Classical period, of theaters for popular assemblies in Sicily.

By contrast, there are a significant number of sources concerning the use of theaters for political gatherings in Sicily during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Some of these sources refer to the use of theaters for holding popular assemblies at various centers, including the Greek colonies on the coast and the cities in the interior. As for the Greek colonies, one may mention Syracuse, where the gathering of the *demos* in the theater

³³ Green (1994) 106; see also Hesberg (2009).

³⁴ See in general Dearden (1990a); Dearden (2004); Todisco (2003) 35 and 37–8. Literary sources: Trojani (1981); Todisco (2002) 65–70 (fourth century), 114–16 (third century). Visual sources: Todisco (2002) 70–113 (fourth century), 116–26 (third century); (2003); Taplin (2007a).

³⁵ In general, on the political function of Greek theaters cf. Kolb (1979); Kolb (1981) esp. 88–99; Longo (1988); Loraux (1999) ch. 2; Moretti (2001), 117–19. On the use of theaters in Sicily for the gathering of popular assemblies see esp. Gallo (2003). In general, on the use of Greek theaters for holding popular assemblies cf. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994) 48–53.

³⁶ Frontin. *Str.* 3.2.6. ³⁷ Thuc. 6.51; Diod. Sic. 13.4.4; Polyaeus 1.40.4.

is mentioned by literary sources for the time of Dion,³⁸ Timoleon,³⁹ and Agathocles.⁴⁰ Among the cities in the interior one may mention Enna⁴¹ and Engyon,⁴² where the use of the theater for popular assemblies is documented for the time in which Marcellus was in Sicily (215–213), during the Second Punic War. Particularly striking is the story concerning the theater at Enna. This city intended to revolt against the Romans, and for this reason, Lucius Pinarius, the head of the local garrison, made the decision to massacre its citizens, who were gathered in the local theater to deliberate. According to Livy, the men of Enna, shut up in the *cavea*, were slain and piled together due not only to the slaughter perpetrated by the Roman soldiers, but also to the panic caused by the events. In the case of Enna, we hear of the use of the local theater for an assembly decades later. This was in 139 BC, on the occasion of the rebellion of slaves led by Eunus. The crowd of rebels assembled in the theater, where it chose its leader as king.⁴³

According to literary sources, theaters were also used for the gatherings of popular assemblies under particular political circumstances. After Timoleon captured Hippo, the tyrant of Messana, the local citizens took Hippo into the theater, where they tortured him and put him to death.⁴⁴ Plutarch, who describes this episode, presents the tyrant's punishment as a glorious spectacle, which the children of Messana were made to watch by bringing them from their schools into the theater. Soon after, so the account by Plutarch goes, the tyrant of Catana, Mamercus, gave himself up to Timoleon and was brought to Syracuse to undergo trial in front of the popular assembly gathered in the theater.⁴⁵ After realizing that the assembly was against him, Mamercus attempted to commit suicide by running straight across the theater and dashing his head against one of the steps of the *cavea*. The tyrant did not succeed in his attempted suicide. Taken away while still alive, he was crucified like a robber.

This political function of theaters in Sicily during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, documented by literary sources, is the background against which one should understand the systematic use made by Hieron II of the stone theater at Syracuse as a tool for political and dynastic

³⁸ Plut. *Dion.* 38.1–2: at the time of Dion, the Syracusans met in assembly in the theater to elect the new officers of the city, including the generals.

³⁹ Plut. *Tim.* 38.2–3 (see also Cornelius Nepos, *De Viris Illustribus* 20.4.2): at the time of Timoleon, the Syracusans regularly met in assembly in the theater to consider public business.

⁴⁰ Just. *Epit.* 22.2.8–12: Agathocles, in his plot to seize power in Syracuse, convenes the popular assembly in the theater, allegedly to discuss a change in the constitution, but in reality in order to have free reign to slaughter the members of the council.

⁴¹ Livy 24.39.1–5; see also Frontin. *Str.* 4.7.22; Polyaeus 8.21.

⁴² Plut. *Marc.*, 20, 2–7, after Poseidonius. ⁴³ Diod. Sic. 34.2.14.

⁴⁴ Plut. *Tim.* 34.3. ⁴⁵ Plut. *Tim.*, 34.4.

propaganda, as best evidenced by the engraving on the *diazoma* of the names of the members of the royal family, along with those of the gods.⁴⁶

Later, after Sicily became a Roman Province, the relative autonomy of several cities on the island made it possible to continue to hold local assemblies of the citizens, or *haliai*.⁴⁷ Within this context, theaters would have continued to serve a political function.

The political and social function of theaters in Sicily during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods finds a reflection in the significant topographical connection between this type of building and the heart of the city, the agora.⁴⁸ Thus, at Acrae (Figure 9.4), the theater is located only a few meters away from the *bouleuterion*, the council house for the meetings of city officials, which at this site was facing the agora. A corridor leading from the top of the auditorium of the theater to the entrance of the *bouleuterion* further reinforced the connection between these two buildings. This proximity of a theatrical structure to the agora and the *bouleuterion* is also found at Acragas, where the *ekklesiasterion* was placed in the area of the civic center, at a distance of less than 80 meters from the *bouleuterion*. A similar connection between the theater and the agora is also found at Iaitas, where the theater is placed on the mountain slope behind the agora, close to the first *bouleuterion*. At Morgantina, the connection between the theater and the agora is more explicit, with the theater directly facing, on the east side, the lower level of the civic center. There is some distance between the theater at Segesta and the agora. However, these two places are not very far from one another, both located near the top of Monte Barbaro. A relation similar to that found at Iaitas is met at Soluntum, where the theater is placed behind the agora, to the west, and in close connection with the *bouleuterion*. Finally, as at Segesta, at Tyndaris the theater was located not too far from the agora.⁴⁹ By contrast, in only two instances, at Syracuse and Helorus, was the theater placed at some distance from the agora.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See esp. Campagna (2004) 171–83.

⁴⁷ See in general Manganaro (1980) 445 and Sartori (1980–1) 277–81. Assemblies of citizens in the Roman Province of Sicily are documented by IG xiv, no. 952, on which see Sartori (1961).

⁴⁸ In general, on the connection between Greek theaters and the agora see Kolb (1979) 507–15; (1981); Longo (1989). For Sicily, see Michelini (1997) 1145–7 and Gallo (2003) 540. On *bouleuteria* in Sicily see Giangiulio (1982) 963–70; Iannello (1994); Isler (2003a).

⁴⁹ See Spigo (2008) 105–6.

⁵⁰ Elsewhere, the location of the agora or of the theater, or both, remains uncertain or unknown: Agyrium (location of both the agora and the theater unknown); Catana (the suggested location of the agora near the modern Via Vittorio Emanuele remains hypothetical); Heraclea Minoa (location of the agora unknown); Enna (location of both the agora and the theater unknown); Monte dei Cavalli (location of the agora unknown); Tauromenium (the suggested location of the agora near the modern Piazza Vittorio Emanuele remains hypothetical).

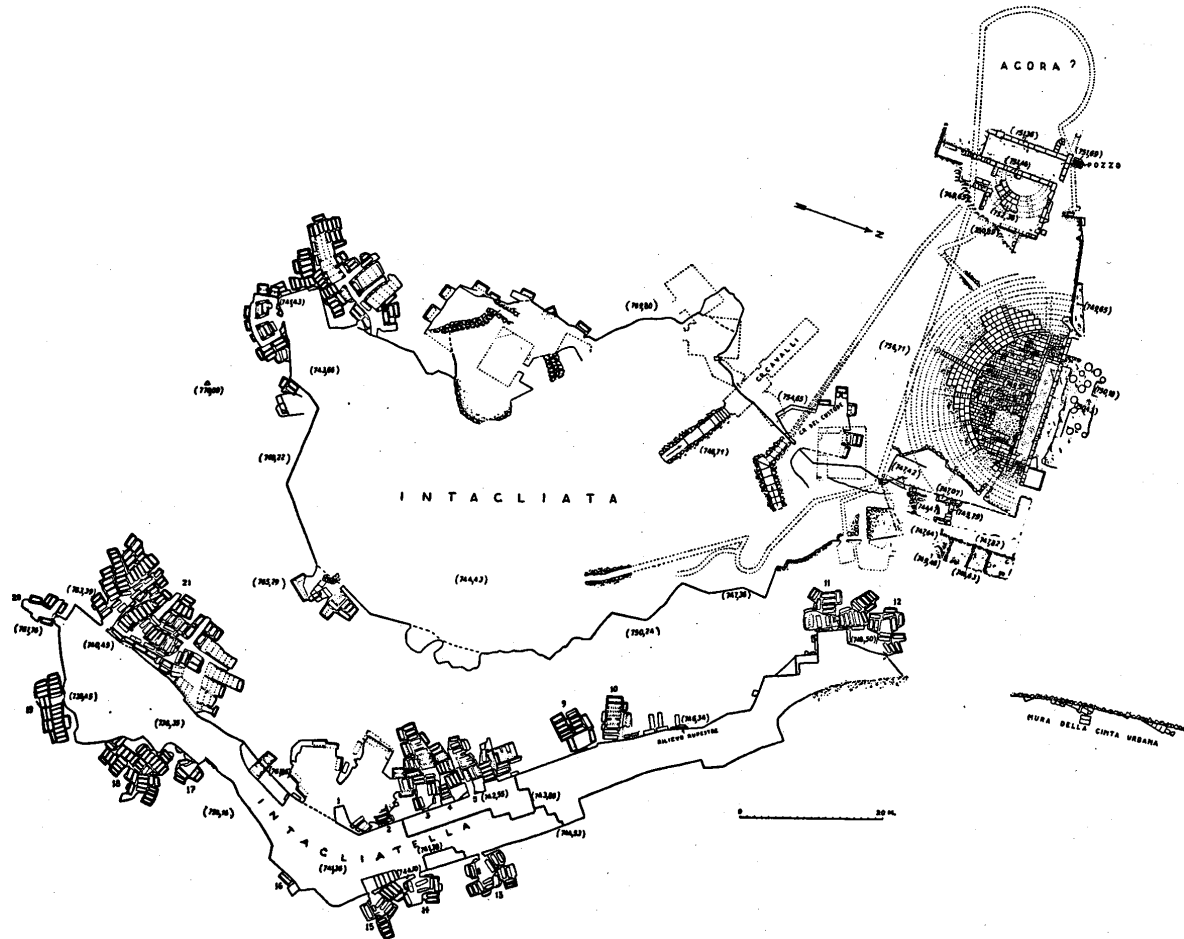


Figure 9.4 Acrae, plan of the theater, *bouleuterion*, and latomies

Table 9.1 The dating of archaeologically documented Sicilian stone theaters

Site	Date	Source
Acrae	3rd c. BC	Bernabò Brea (1956)
Acragas	350–300 BC	De Miro in Ampolo (2009)
Catana, 1st phase	2nd c. AD	H. P. Isler in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio (1994)
Helorus	4th–3rd c. BC	H. P. Isler in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio (1994)
Heraclea Minoa	Late 4th – first half of the 3rd c. BC	H. P. Isler in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio (1994)
Iaitas	325–300	Isler (2003b)
Monte dei Cavalli	350–325 BC	Vassallo in this volume
Morgantina	c. 250 BC	Bell in Ampolo (2009)
Segesta	150–100 BC	D'Andria (2005)
Soluntum	End of 3rd – beginning of 2nd c. BC	Wolf in Ampolo (2009)
Syracuse, Great theater	238–216 BC	Bernabò Brea (1967)
Tauromenium, 1st phase	3rd c. BC	Sear (1996)
Tyndaris	End of 4th – beginning of 3rd c. BC	Bernabò Brea (1964–5)

This strong emphasis on the connection between the theater and the civic center does not come as a surprise. Although only a semicircle, the theater, with its circular orchestra, marks the center, and architects in Sicily during the fourth and third centuries BC seem to have taken this metaphor seriously. In fact, they often placed the theaters near the center of the city plan or near the political *meson*, the agora. Moreover, they also often placed the theaters near the acropolis, in one of the most elevated positions. It is often remarked that thanks to their elevated position, many of the ancient theaters of Sicily would have offered the spectators gorgeous views of the surroundings. But it is not often realized that, thanks to their elevated location, conspicuous position, and large size, these theaters would have been a spectacle of their own, particularly for travelers approaching the cities. This was surely the case in Segesta, where a visitor coming from the Gulf of Castellammare would have first seen the theater resplendent under the sun near the top of the Acropolis, and only later the unfinished, peripteral temple, placed in a lower position. This hierarchy at Segesta is the best metaphor for the significant changes that took place in Sicily between the fourth and second century, during which time theaters were converted into stone and came to leave their mark on the landscape of so many centers for generations to come.

Appendix | Ancient sources and modern literature on theaters in Sicily

Author–date references to works on individual theaters in this appendix may be looked up in the frequently cited list below or in the main bibliography. Less frequently cited works are cited in full in the appendix. A list of abbreviations is included in the Bibliography on pp. 409–10.

Frequently mentioned literature

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Acrae

Modern literature

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Acragas/Agrigentum (*ekklesterion*)

Ancient sources

See Catana

Modern literature

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Agyrium

Ancient sources

Diodorus, 16, 83, 3.

Modern literature

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Catana

Ancient sources

Frontinus, *Stratagemata*, 3, 2, 6 (Akragas: but Catania instead? Cf. Thucydides, 6, 51; Diodorus, 13, 4, 4; Polyaeus, 1, 40, 4).

Modern literature

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Engyon

Ancient sources

Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus*, 20, 2–7.

Modern Literature

Bejor, G. (1989) “Engio,” *BTCGI* 7: 185–8.

Enna

Ancient sources

Livy, 24, 39.1–5; Diodorus, 34, 2, 14; Frontinus, *Stratagemata*, 4, 7, 22; Polyaeus, 8, 21.

Modern literature

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Entella (?)

Modern literature

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Gela (?)

Modern literature

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Helorus

Modern literature

Orsi, P. (1899) “Eloro,” *NSc*: 241–4, esp. 242; Pace (1935–49) II, 321; Gentili, G. V. (1959) “Helorum,” *Fasti Archaeologici* 14: 161–2 no. 2484; Militello, E. (1966) “Eloro: III. Relazione degli scavi del 1958–59,” *Mon. Ant.* 47: cc. 299–335, esp. cc. 324–7; Orsi, P. (1966) “Eloro: I. Campagna di scavo del 1899,” *Mon. Ant.* 47: cc. 203–87, esp. cc. 232–5; Forni (1973), 776; Voza, G. (1973)

"Eloro," *EAA* suppl. I: 297–301; Voza, G. (1973) "Eloro," in P. Pelagatti and G. Voza (eds.), *Archeologia nella Sicilia Sud-Orientale*, 117–26. Naples, esp. 117; Ciancio, S. (1976) *Heloros polis Sikelias*. Ispica, 32; Billig (1980) 48; Martin, Pelagatti, Vallet, and Voza (1980b) 553; Coarelli and Torelli (1984) 287; Mitens (1988) 89–91; Corsaro, M., A. R. Marotta D'Agata, and G. Voza (1989) "Eloro," *BTCGI* 7: 157–66; Wilson (1990b) 57–8; H. P. Isler in Ciancio Rossetto and Pisani Sartorio (1994) II, 444; Todisco (2002) 171–2; Tosi (2003) 602–3; Campagna (2006) 19; Sear (2006) 187.

Heraclea Minoa

Modern literature

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10 | The theater of Montagna dei Cavalli-Hippana

STEFANO VASSALLO

The excavation conducted by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Palermo (the Archaeological Superintendency of Palermo) in the fall of 2007 at Montagna dei Cavalli was able to partially bring to light a new Greek theater, thereby increasing the number, though still limited, of known theater buildings in Sicily and Magna Graecia. After a brief introduction to the historical and archaeological context of the ancient city of Montagna dei Cavalli, I will discuss the investigation of this theater, and at the end I will offer some critical observations on the relevance of this discovery in the wider context of our current knowledge of ancient theater buildings in the Greek/Western world.

Montagna dei Cavalli is an important archaeological site in western Sicily. It is situated in a central position between the Tyrrhenian coast and the Mediterranean Sea, halfway between Palermo and Agrigento (Figure 10.1). The ancient settlement occupies a high elevation, 1,007 meters above sea level, and is delimited by high, rocky parapets in a landscape of striking beauty that was characterized in the Greek period, and is still in part today, by the presence of forests.¹

The settlement of the first part of the Hellenistic period can be identified, on the basis of historical and archaeological documentation, with the city of Hippana, conquered in 258 BC by the Romans in the course of the First Punic War.² Polybius (1.24.10) states the following in the first book of *The Histories*:

I am grateful to Donata Zirone, archaeological collaborator in the research, and to Sonia Amaral Rohter for the translation of my paper. Many thanks to Kathryn Boshier, who invited me to Chicago and gave me good editorial suggestions.

¹ For bibliography on the site until 1990 see Michelini (1992). A preliminary report on the archaeological surveys conducted by the Soprintendenza of Palermo between 1988 and 1991 is in Vassallo (1997).

² The identification of the site of Montagna dei Cavalli with the story of Hippana, hypothesized already in the nineteenth century, today seems certain based both on numismatic and archaeological evidence, cf. Vassallo (1997) 304–5, and on the study of the medieval toponymy of documents of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, in which the mountain and the valley below it were eloquently called “vallonem de Ypanis o Ypano,” “montis Ypane”; the church, moreover, is called “Sancti Laurentii de Ypano,” cf. Collura (1971).



Figure 10.1 Map of the principal centers of the first Hellenistic period in central west Sicily

The Roman troops in Sicily... when they had received their new commanders the Consuls of next year, Aulus Atilius and Gaius Sulpicius, they started to attack Panormus, because the Carthaginian forces were wintering there. The Consuls, when they got close up to the city, offered battle with their whole forces, but as the enemy did not come out to meet them they left Panormus and went off to attack Hippana. This city they took by assault. (Loeb translation)

The city was permanently abandoned after this year, and therefore this date constitutes a precise chronological endpoint, one that is very important for the historical interpretation of the archaeological data, above all those that concern, as we shall see, the theater.

Although the earliest indication of the presence of archaeological remains on *Montagna dei Cavalli* dates back to 1837,³ it was only in 1988 that systematic investigation began. This investigation was accompanied by excavation campaigns, thanks to which it is now possible to provide an initial historical

³ Crispi (1836); (1875).

overview of the settlement and its ancient topography, which I summarize briefly below.

In the Archaic period (between the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century BC) there was a Sican settlement (the indigenous *ethnos* that populated central/western Sicily before the arrival of the Greeks) on the mountain. The first contacts with the colonial Greek world, in particular the *poleis* of Himera, Agrigento, and Selinus, date to around the middle of the sixth century BC. After a phase of profound demographic and economic crisis in the fifth century BC, and perhaps also when the site may have been abandoned, a new city was born on Montagna dei Cavalli:⁴ the Hippana recorded by Polybius, a city entirely reorganized from an urbanistic point of view.⁵

The city, which extends for almost thirty hectares, occupied the eastern part of the mountain and was defended by an imposing double line of fortifications (Figure 10.3): a lower wall that surrounded the inhabited area, and a second, upper defensive line that circled the acropolis itself (Figure 10.2), which was located on the upper level of the mountain and extended for about five hectares. It was here that the public and religious buildings and probably also the agora were located. The area of habitation was laid out in the space between the acropolis and the lower line of fortifications and was arranged on terraces, which were in part artificial, arrayed all along the mountainside.

During its brief life of about one hundred years, between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the third centuries BC, Hippana achieved a notable level of demographic and economic development, and can be presumed to have enjoyed moderate political autonomy, as is revealed by the fact that Hippana had its own mint, which issued coins of both bronze and silver with the figure of an eagle on a column capital and the legend “IPA” = Ipana.⁶ Further evidence of a moderately respectable level of wealth is the circulation in Hippana of coins of other important mints, such as Syracuse, Gela, Agrigento, Heraclea and Corinth, as well as Punic coins;⁷ Hippana was a city, therefore, that was dynamic in its day-to-day, internal economy.

A high standard of living is also attested by the discovery of luxury products (Figure 10.4). Take, for example, the five bands of gilded silver

⁴ Archaeological excavations at many indigenous sites of central-west Sicily reveal a period of difficulty and crisis after the first decades of the fifth century BC, and in the middle of the same century, cf. Vassallo (2000).

⁵ The date of this urban recovery can be fixed around the middle of the fourth century BC or a couple of decades before: Vassallo (1997) 302.

⁶ Gandolfo (1997a); Gandolfo (1997b) 317–18. ⁷ Gandolfo (1997b).

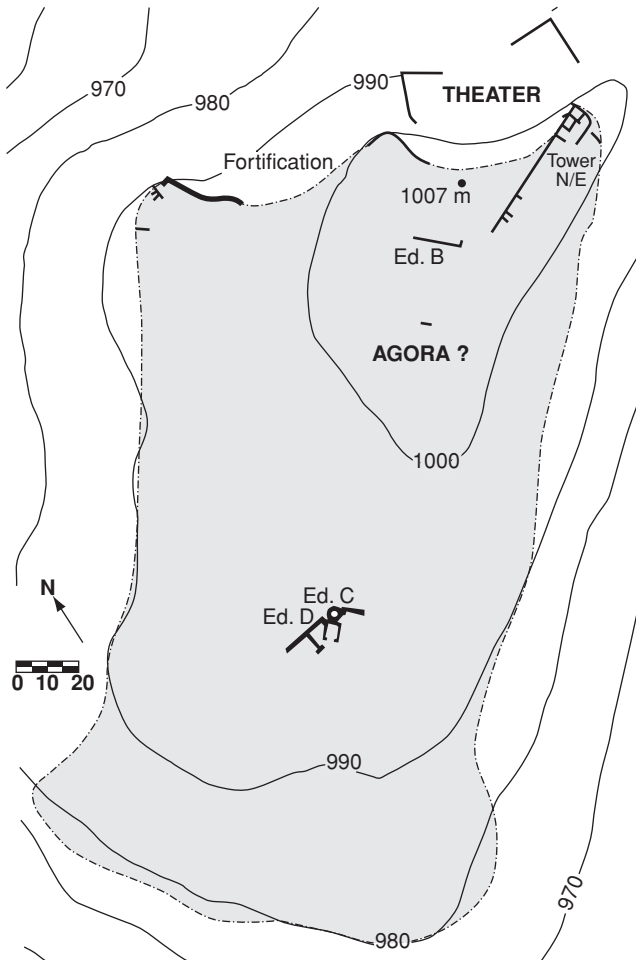


Figure 10.2 Montagna dei Cavalli: plan of the acropolis

(two diadems, one bracelet, and the other two unidentified) discovered in the western necropolis and another found in a sacred building on the acropolis.⁸ This last is decorated with a triform bearded head that probably represents a divinity with a diadem on his forehead (Figure 10.4d).⁹ It is designed in a strongly expressive style that demonstrates refined solutions in the rendering of the physiognomic features of this extremely unusual representation of a face in triple view. It is a figure for which no precise iconographic comparisons can be made in the Greco-Hellenistic figurative corpus.

⁸ Vassallo (2003) 136–40.

⁹ Vassallo (1993) 131.

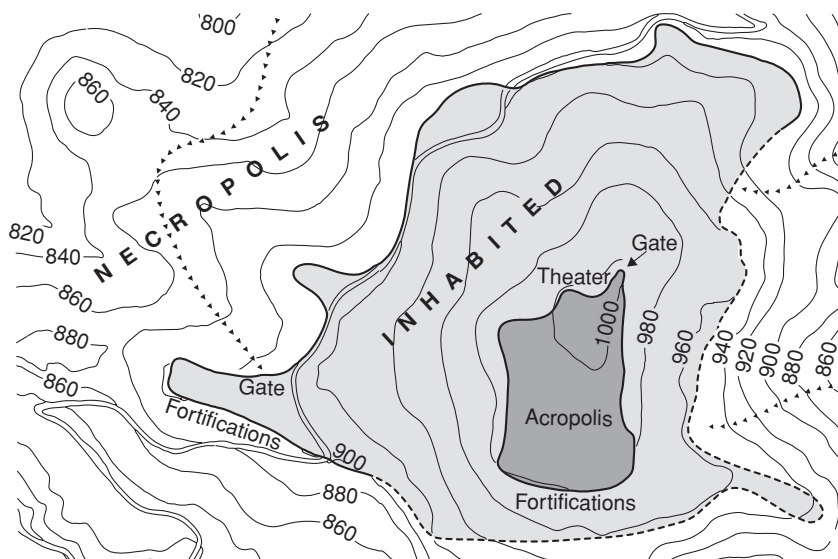


Figure 10.3 Montagna dei Cavalli: general plan of the archaeological site



Figure 10.4 Jewelry from Montagna dei Cavalli



Figure 10.5 View of the archaeological site from the north; on the summit is the area of the theater

Two of the bands are decorated with an elegant motif of palmettes, lotus flowers, scrolls, and Gorgon heads (Figures 10.4a–c). Lastly, one of the diadems bears a delicate and cultured scene of a Dionysiac *thiasos* featuring a central group of Dionysus and Ariadne amongst satyrs and maenads (Figure 10.4e).¹⁰

The theater

A further and extremely important piece of evidence for the wealth achieved by the city and the elevated level of culture of its population is the presence of a theater.

Some preliminary soundings conducted in 1962 by Vincenzo Tusa¹¹ and those that I myself conducted in 1988 notwithstanding, there had never been any proof of the presence of a theater building.¹² It was only in the summer of 2007, thanks to the possibility of realizing a long excavation campaign, that we were able to ascertain with certainty for the first time that the structure hidden underneath enormous piles of rubble near the peak of the mountain was really a theater (Figures 10.5–6). This first investigation has

¹⁰ La Lomia (1968). ¹¹ Tusa (1961) 117. ¹² Vassallo (1997) 297–8.



Figure 10.6 The orchestra seen from the south; in the distance, Prizzi and surrounding countryside

only allowed us to determine the plan and architectural characteristics of the building, of which only the *cavea* and the orchestra have partially come to light so far. In the coming years, we plan to complete the exploration and the restoration of the entire monument in order to be able to open the area to the public. The results of this first investigation, are, naturally, still preliminary. We are, in fact, still working to process the data and study the archaeological material, therefore the data that I present here for the first time should not be considered definitive for the overall reading of the monument.



Figure 10.7 The area of the excavation of the theater seen from the north

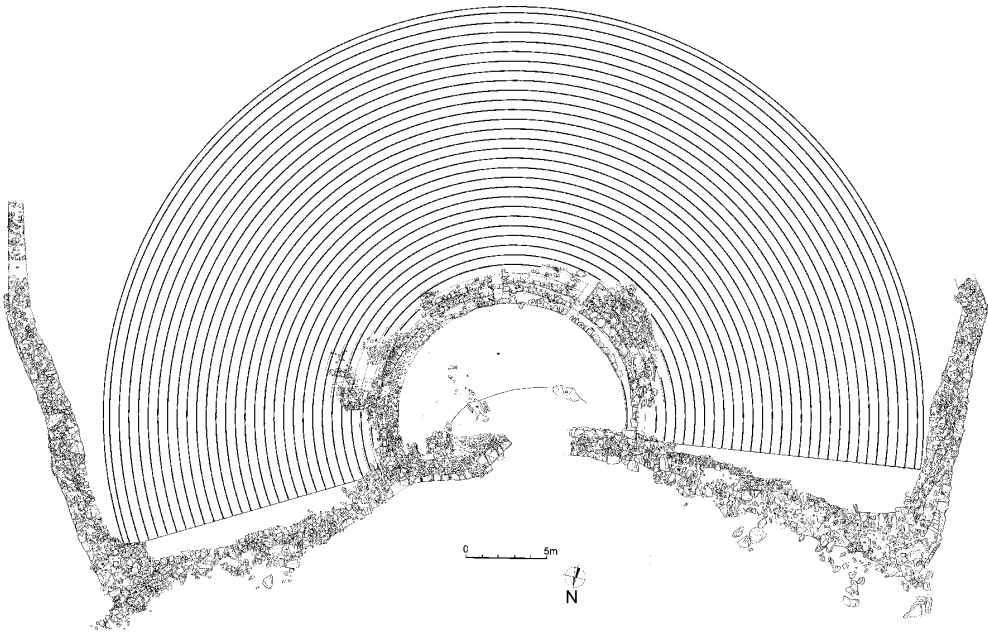


Figure 10.8 Line drawing of the structure of the walls to the point revealed by excavation and hypothesis of the seating arrangement in the area of the *koilon*

The investigation is particularly complex given the difficult environmental conditions. The area of the theater is not, in fact, easily accessible and it occupies precipitous terrain; moreover, the preserved structures of the building were covered by a layer of soil that was up to four meters high in some spots (Figure 10.7). The theater is situated on the top of the mountain, at 1,007 meters above sea level, immediately outside the acropolis' fortifications (Figure 10.2), whose curvilinear course delimits the profile of the *summa cavea* while at the same time providing monumental scenography for the theater (Figure 10.8).



Figure 10.9 Eastern *analemma* (retaining wall) of the *cavea* seen from the north

Currently, the two lateral *analemma* walls, which define the *cavea* at the east and west, and those of the *parodoi*, have been found (Figures 10.9–10). All are in a poor state of preservation, having suffered over time a strong downward slippage due to the steep slope of the natural terrain. The walls, with an average thickness of 1.7 meters, were created using irregularly shaped limestone blocks, which were sometimes of large dimensions, for the exterior faces, while the *emplecton* consisted of fragments of stone and earth.



Figure 10.10 *Analemma* on the eastern *parodos*, partially caved in

The area of the orchestra was excavated in its entirety, bringing to light the ancient walking surface, which is, unfortunately, only preserved in part, in the southern sector (Figures 10.11–12). The northern area and that of the *skenē* have collapsed down the mountainside. However, the presence of a notable foundation wall allows for a double interpretation: it functioned as structural support for the floor of the orchestra and, at the same time, also probably functioned as the foundation for the *skenē* (Figure 10.13A).

In regards to the *cavea*, the rows of seats in the side parts are lost, while those of the central/lower area are preserved, protected by layers of debris from the collapse of the upper zones of the *cavea* itself (Figure 10.13B). At the moment we have almost entirely brought to light the first two, lower rows and in a stretch of the central section we have excavated as far as the sixth row (Figure 10.14). The seats were constructed of limestone blocks, only partially squared, with an internal fill of stones and earth. In the lower rows there were five *klimakes*, the stepped corridors (average width 50–60 cm) that gave access to the tiers of seats. The *klimakes* defined the *kerkides*, that is, the various sectors of the *cavea*. However, we can hypothesize the existence of two additional *klimakes* along the *analemma* walls of the *parodoi*.



Figure 10.11 Orchestra seen from the east



Figure 10.12 Orchestra of the theater seen from the west. A = preserved pavement of beaten earth; B = area where the pavement is destroyed

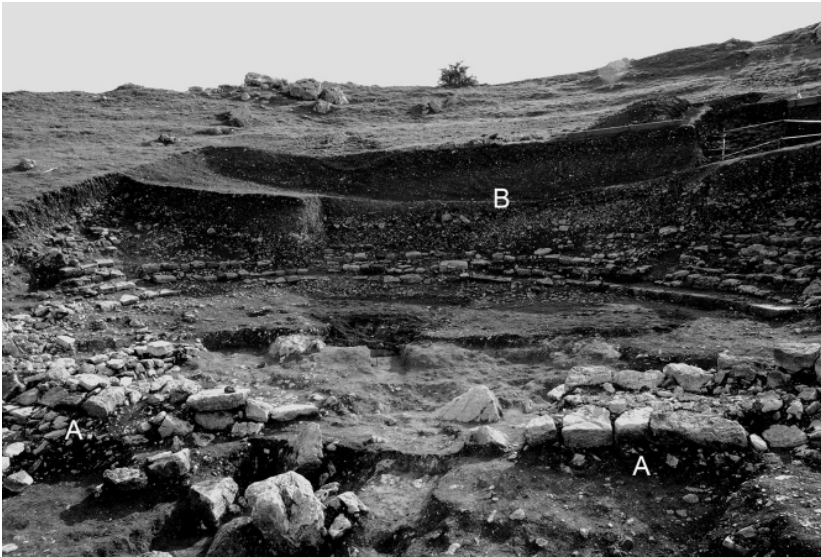


Figure 10.13 A = the foundation wall, between the *parodoi*, that probably functioned as structural support for the orchestra. B = layer of earth covering the *cavea* seating, up to four meters deep



Figure 10.14 The lower rows of the *cavea* on the western side of the orchestra

We would thus have, in total, seven *klimakes* and six *kerkides*. A sounding carried out in the central part of the *cavea* (*media cavea*) permitted the discovery of another four rows of seats (around the fifteenth row) and the upward continuation of the fifth *klimax*. It is probable that the seats above this stretch are no longer extant.

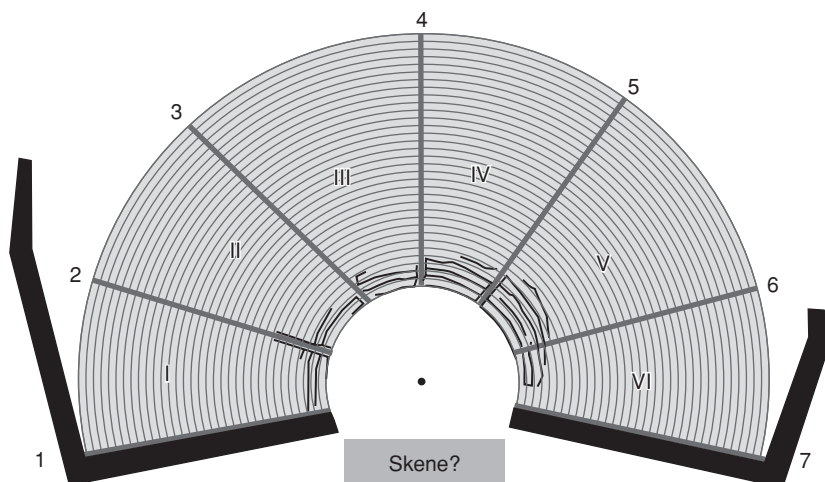


Figure 10.15 Hypothetical reconstruction of the plan of the theater, with reconstruction of the sections of the *koilon* (*kerkides* in Roman numerals and *klimakes* in Arabic numerals) and a hypothesis of the location of the scene building

Finally, a trench was opened in the center of the orchestra revealing the natural rock bed, into which cuts had been made in order to construct the theater (Figure 10.11A). Upon the rock there were some objects (nozzles and lamps), which probably constitute part of a votive deposit associated with the moment of the construction of the theater. These finds, datable to the second half of the fourth century BC, therefore provide a very important *terminus post quem* for the chronology of the building.

Architectural Characteristics of the Theater (Figures 10.8, 10.15–16)

The theater of Montagna dei Cavalli was constructed on steeply sloped terrain and it was therefore necessary to give shape to the *cavea*, which has a maximum diameter of fifty-two meters, by cutting into the natural rock in the central part while at the same time filling the side zones. The *cavea*, or *koilon*, is supported on the east and west by two strong *analemma* walls, of different lengths, which connect at the top with smaller walls, which flow towards the interior. The *analemma* walls above the *parodoi* converge towards the center, tending to intersect, and conferring a peculiar form on the *cavea*, one that is similar to other examples of Sicilian theaters, such as those at Syracuse and Solunto.

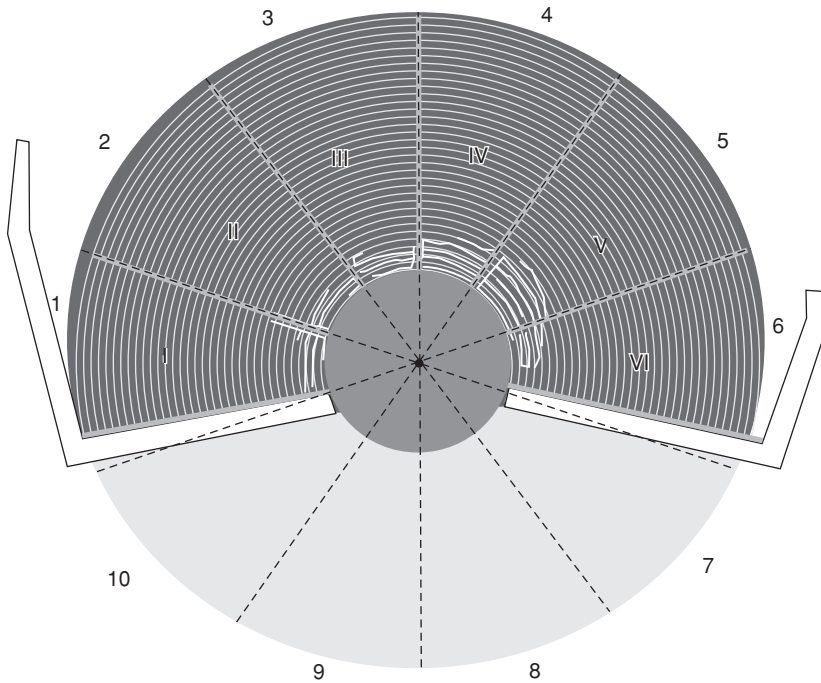


Figure 10.16 Reconstruction of the theoretical circle on which the *koilon* of the theater was designed

The orchestra, circular in form, has a diameter of fourteen meters. Its beaten earth floor is only preserved, as I have already said, for about three quarters of its total expanse.

As regards the *cavea*, at the moment we can postulate the existence of about thirty rows of seats, with an average height of 30 cm and an average width of 60 cm for the seats. Seven *klimakes* (located only in the lower part, the *ima cavea*) uniformly divided the *cavea* into six sectors of equal dimensions, the *kerkides*. The circle that governs the design of the *cavea* (diam. 52 m) was therefore divided geometrically into ten segments or *arcs*, of which the actual space of the *cavea* occupied six-tenths. At the moment there are no traces of the *diazomata*, the passageways that horizontally separate the various sectors of the *cavea*, nor do the seats of the *prohedria*, the first row on the orchestra, reserved, as noted in the historical tradition and in the archaeological documentation, for the most important people of the city, appear to have received special treatment.

A problem that is destined to remain unsolved is that of the *skene*. In fact, none of the area north of the orchestra, where one would expect to find

the *skene*, is preserved, as it has collapsed down the slope. We can, however, imagine a *skene*, probably of wood, of a simple rectangular plan.

Regarding the capacity of the structure, on the basis of its size and the calculations done for other Sicilian theaters, at the moment we can only hypothesize, in anticipation of the completion of the excavation of the *cavea*, that it could accommodate about 2,500–3,000 spectators.¹³

One of the most important pieces of information that can be gleaned from this structure, in particular in relation to the study of Greek theaters in the west, is chronological. In fact, on an archaeological basis we can fix the date of both the construction and abandonment of the theater with a fair amount of precision. Its construction can be dated to the second half of the fourth century BC and was probably planned and executed as part of the general urban reorganization of the city that was taking place at that time, and can thus be more precisely dated to the third quarter of the fourth century BC. The destruction of the theater dates to 258 BC, the year of the Roman conquest of the city and its final abandonment.

This fact is very interesting since, if it is certain that the first generation of stone theaters in the west were built in the fourth century BC, it is likewise true that all the theaters presently known in Sicily and South Italy underwent substantial transformations and renovations in the period after the middle of the third century BC and leading up to the end of the first century BC. Montagna dei Cavalli preserves a rare and precious testimony of the structure and original plan of theaters of the first part of the Hellenistic period and therefore our knowledge of this theater can provide an important model for the study of the architectural evolution of these structures in the Greek world.¹⁴

Moreover, the theater of Montagna dei Cavalli stands at a record altitude, located as it is 1,000 meters above sea level.

In a survey of the size of theater structures in Sicily, that of Montagna dei Cavalli occupies, on the basis of its dimensions, with the 52 meter diameter of its *cavea*, a position in the middle. It is, in fact, larger than those of Akrai 37.5 m; Solunto 46.6 m; Heraclea 50.6 m, and smaller than those of

¹³ The calculation of the capacity is based on the length of the diameter of the *koilon*, 52 m, an average dimension relative to the other two theaters of central-northern Sicily, Iato (almost 68 m) and Solunto (46 m). For these two theaters approximately 4,400 and 1,600 seats respectively have been estimated. An up-to-date bibliography on the excavations of Monte Iato can be found in Isler (2000) 117–23; preliminary reports were published annually in the journals of *Sicilia Archeologica* (beginning in 1971) and *Antike Kunst* (beginning in 1971). For Solunto, see Wiegand (1997).

¹⁴ A general outline of the theatres of Sicily and of Magna Graecia is in Mitens (1988). A very general bibliography on the architecture of the Greek theatre, up-to-date to 2007, is in Pappalardo (2007) 205.

Morgantina 57.5 m, Segesta 63 m, Iato 67.9 m, Tindari 76 m and the large theater of Syracuse 138 m.

From an urbanistic point of view the theater occupies an excellent position within the city, situated as it was at a pivotal point between the acropolis (where public buildings and the agora were located) and the habitation area, from which the citizens emerged to participate in the spectacles. Such a placement is a good response to the function, in the context of the city, of this structure, destined as it was for theatrical productions, but probably also utilized for citizen assemblies. A structure, therefore, that constitutes an important point of reference for the entire population and which occupied a central position not only from a physical point of view, but also from an ideological point of view in terms of the relationship between the various parts of the city.

If one leaves aside the case of Syracuse, which in the Hellenistic period was a very complex and articulated city in which the theater was situated in a marginal location distant from the center, in all the other cases the theater structures were found in the heart of the city, in the vicinity of, or directly in, the agora, as is the case in Morgantina, Iato, Solunto and Segesta.¹⁵

I would like to end with some observations about the cultural significance of the presence of a Greek theater at Montagna dei Cavalli, a center born in the Archaic period, in the seventh century BC, out of a nucleus of indigenous inhabitants, which came into contact around the middle of the sixth century BC with the colonial Greek world.

As happened throughout the island, the culturally indigenous substrate was profoundly shaken and changed by its relationship with the Greeks/Siciliotes, so much so that by the end of the fifth century, Greek culture had penetrated all the way to the bottom and radically transformed the social and economic structure of the indigenous population. Consequently, when Hippaia was refounded and urbanistically reorganized around the middle of the fourth century BC, it was a city of Greek culture, rich and vital, as is attested by so many archaeological indications.

The respectable size of the habitation area (about thirty hectares), the imposing fortifications, and the large western necropolis in which

¹⁵ Most of the extant theaters of Sicily occupy a central position in the urban area of the city, either adjoining the agora, as at Solunto, Iato and Morgantina, or located in places which are always barycentric to various parts of the city, as at Segesta or Heraclea Minoa. At Syracuse, the location of the theater in the most peripheral district of Neapolis, rather than in the central zone of the city between the island of Ortygia and the area of the agora in the district of Achradina, can be explained by the presence of a rocky slope that created favorable conditions for the construction of the theater building.



Figure 10.17 Greek theaters of Sicily in the Hellenistic and Roman periods

monumental tombs were present,¹⁶ are all indications of a city that had become Greek in many aspects, well structured and complex in its functioning and in its comprehensive topographical layout. On the basis of these presuppositions the demand on the part of the inhabitants to construct a theater, a tangible testimony to the profound level of Hellenization achieved not only in the realm of technical, architectural, and Greek urbanistic knowledge, but also in the arts and in literary culture, is understandable. The presence of a theater is evidence of a populous and dynamic city, probably one with an articulated social fabric and an elevated level of culture.

It is extraordinary, however, if we consider the fact that Hippana was in the area of central-western Sicily of the so-called Punic eparchy (*eparchia*), namely the territory that was directly controlled by Carthage between the end of the fifth century BC and the middle of the third century BC. It is probable that there are still numerous other theaters yet to be discovered in Sicily and that therefore we are missing the full picture in regard to their distribution throughout the island's territory (Figure 10.17). However, it is significant to note that among those known thus far, a good five out of twelve (Segesta, Solunto, Eraclea Minoa, Iato, and Hippana) are located in the area of Punic eparchy.

¹⁶ Although excavations have not been conducted in the vast western necropolis, preliminary surveys have revealed the presence of various types of graves, some of which were made with great care, and also of funerary monuments: Vassallo (1997) 299–300.

This reminds us that, despite the conflicts between Carthage and Syracuse during the first part of the Hellenistic period, between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the third centuries BC, Sicily was still able to participate in a profound and refined cultural *koinē*. Despite the rich contrasts that characterized the island in this period, this cultural *koinē* helped to unify, in many aspects, all of the territory of Sicily, leaving a great inheritance to Rome, which in turn made Sicily into its first province.

11 | How was Athenian tragedy played in the Greek West?

OLIVER TAPLIN

The case for the early spread of tragedy through performances

It should be beyond reasonable doubt that by about 350 BC Athenian tragedies were being performed on quite a regular basis in the Greek cities of southern Italy, such as Tarentum, Thurii, Metapontum and Heraclea, as well as widely in Sicily. It is, indeed, plausible to claim that even by 400 BC such performances were already quite widespread and frequent. And, while the fascination with theatre does seem to have been especially strong in Sicily and Magna Graecia, it is also likely that the spread from Athens in the period 450 to 350 extended to all corners of the far-flung Hellenic world.¹ Whether the performances also reached non-Greek communities, and in particular Ruvo and other Italian towns of central and northern Apulia, is the subject of current debate. I postpone this issue, which is not central to this discussion, to the Appendix immediately following this chapter.

These initial claims do not necessarily entail that every tragedy performed in the Greek West between (say) 500 and 300 BC had been originally performed at Athens, or had been primarily or initially aimed at an Athenian audience. Indeed the earliest known instance, namely Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae*, provides an immediate – if special – counter-example, since it was created for Hieron's new foundation in 476/5.² Fragment 6 shows, however, that the dialogue of *Aetnaeae* was in Attic Greek; and even its unique structure

This contribution follows in the footsteps of the path-opening work in Dearden (1999), and Csapo (2004) and (2010a). I am most grateful to Kate Boshier, and the Sawyer Seminar at Northwestern University, for the stimulus to write this chapter. I am indebted (as often) to Peter Wilson and Eric Csapo for making helpful points about an earlier draft (and to Prof. Csapo for showing me his new book before publication).

¹ Theatre-related vases made in Athens have now been found in a range of sites, although these cannot, of course, prove for sure that Athenian theatre had spread to their provenances. The find-spots of notable tragedy-related Attic vases include Corinth and Olbia (Ukraine); those of comedy-related vases include Cyrene and Phanagoria (Ukraine). On the scattered find-spots of theatre-related vessels by the Pronomos Painter and his circle, including the Pronomos vase itself from Ruvo di Puglia, see the contributions of Burn and of Csapo in Taplin and Wyles (2010).

² See further Boshier, this volume.

was apparently a departure from the basic Athenian norm rather than a separately developed poetic *Bauform*. So far as I am aware, there is no evidence, earlier than the mould-breaking Rhinthon in c. 300 BC, that tragic dialogue was composed or delivered in any dialect other than Attic, nor that there were any tragedies that abandoned the Athenian *Bauform* of spoken parts by actors interspersed with choral songs and lyric dialogues.

Tragedy rapidly recruited western Greek actors and playwrights – as well as audiences – but evidently they still thought of Athens as the metropolis of theatre, or at least of the Athenian Great Dionysia and Lenaia as the most important occasions. Fourth-century actors included the leading celebrities Archias of Thurii and Aristodemus of Metapontum; playwrights included the relatively minor Spinther of Heraclea and Sosiphanes of Syracuse. What evidence we have suggests that practitioners still gravitated to Athens as the hub of their theatrical activities. Even Dionysius I, who would surely have been the person, if anyone, in a strong position to establish a rival centre for tragedy, seems to have set his sights on recognition at Athens.³ All this confirms the assumptions behind Plato *Laches* 183a–b (from the 390s) that touring other cities was a second-rung ambition for a tragedian compared with success at Athens.⁴ It seems fair to say, then, that ‘Tragedy Outside Athens’ remained tragedy that was descended from or had been disseminated from the Athenian core.⁵

The situation with comedy – or, more accurately ‘comic plays’ – is rather different, above all because of the offerings of the Doric Sicilian ‘school’, headed by Epicharmus.⁶ Until not long ago most scholars took it for granted that *all* Greek comic plays in Sicily and Italy were of a local type – ‘*phlyakes*’ – and quite independent of comedy as developed at Athens.⁷ Since the 1980s the whole situation has been reassessed, and it is now generally supposed that a fair proportion of the comedies performed in the west before c. 375 were Athenian, including revivals of ‘old’ comedies from the fifth century. At the same time it is possible that there were, after the era of Epicharmus, comic plays performed in the Greek West that were not Athenian in origin, and/or were not in Attic dialect, and/or did not follow the *Bauformen* of Attic comedy.⁸ The fact remains, however, that there is

³ See further Duncan, this volume. ⁴ See Csapo (2004) 70–1.

⁵ Further discussion in Taplin (1999).

⁶ See further Rodríguez Noriega-Guillén and Willi, both in this volume.

⁷ The most notable exception was Webster (1948); but even Webster did not suppose that Old, as opposed to Middle, comedy was reflected in the west Greek vase-paintings.

⁸ See Dearden in this volume. I did not mean to claim in Taplin (1993a) that *all* the relevant comic vases show scenes from Athenian comedy.

a lack of direct evidence for this. Thus, while it is possible that there were comic plays composed in local dialects, hardly any of the (few) inscriptions we have on the vases display non-Attic forms, and some are positively incompatible with Doric, for example ΧΟΡΗΓΟΣ and ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΔΗΣ.⁹ And the most important comic playwrights to emerge from the west, Alexis of Thurii and, later, Philemon of Syracuse, gravitated to Athens, and wrote their comedies in Attic dialect. So I doubt the situation with comedy was radically different from that with tragedy.

The documentary evidence for early performance of tragedy in Sicily is mostly, though not all, well known.¹⁰ The commission of *Aetnaeae* was closely followed by a showing of *Persae* at Syracuse, the earliest attested re-performance of any Greek tragedy.¹¹ And Aeschylus died at Gela in 456. It would be fascinating to know when the tradition grew up that ‘those who devoted their lives to tragedy used to visit his memorial, and to perform their plays’ or ‘his plays’.¹² It might have been not long after his death. So the recently published lead curse-tablet from Gela, which has to do with rival *choragoi*, might possibly ‘relate to competitive tragic performance staged as part of a hero cult for Aeschylus in Gela’.¹³

Then from almost fifty years later, the story of Athenian prisoners-of-war gaining their liberation from the stone-quarries at Syracuse by being able to teach the lyrics of Euripides might be regarded as too good to be false rather than too good to be true. And when Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1384b11 says that Euripides went on a diplomatic mission to Syracuse, I see no good reason to disbelieve this, nor to insist that it refers to some other Euripides.¹⁴ And there is every reason to suppose that there was a great deal of tragedy, including revivals of the fifth-century masters, being performed in the Syracuse of Dionysius I.

Turning to the material evidence, there are, of course, the celebrated stone theatre-constructions of Sicily.¹⁵ It is, no doubt, highly likely that these were used for other large gatherings besides dramatic performances, but there is no good reason to doubt that they were used for drama on occasion, and

⁹ The latter on Milan Mus. Arch. AO.9. 284 = Trendall (1967) no. 45 = Taplin (1993a) 12.5, found at Ruvo.

¹⁰ Cf. Lada-Richards (2009) 155–6 with n. 101.

¹¹ Herodotus’ story about Phrynichus (6.21) presupposes the possibility of reperformance.

¹² Thus Wilson (2007b) 356–7 for *ta dramata*. The source is *Life* section 11 = p. 35, lines 46–7 Radt.

¹³ Thus Wilson (2007b) cited in previous note.

¹⁴ This is, however, favoured by Kannicht (2004) 94 on T96.

¹⁵ See Dearden and Csapo cited in the acknowledgement on p. 226 above, and the useful survey in Todisco (2002) 139–66. Also Marconi in this volume.

that theatre was a significant motive for their construction in the first place. Many more Greek stone theatres have been excavated in Sicily than in Italy, and there probably were many more in antiquity. But it is highly likely that there were wooden theatres at those sites before they were replaced by stone; and that there were many substantial wooden theatres which have left no archaeological trace. These will have been fixed rather than movable. When Plato at *Laws* 817a–b talks of not allowing poets to fit up their stages in the *agora* and thus introduce mellifluous actors, that would seem at first sight to be evidence not only that itinerant actors were common, but also that they might put up temporary theatres anywhere they were permitted. On second look, however, the polemical context suggests that this is a symbolic rather than a realistic scenario: the purpose of the passage is to redefine what constitutes true poetry and its place in society, as opposed to the intrusive and specious claims of drama. The norm is far more likely to have been permanent theatre sites where wooden auditoria and playing areas will have been constructed or renovated every year. And the comic vases offer, of course, plenty of evidence of theatre-carpentry.¹⁶

The relation between fourth-century mythological vase-painting and the actual performance of tragedy was a central concern of my book *Pots & Plays* (2007a). It seems to be in keeping with the preponderance of evidence for theatre in Sicily over that from Magna Graecia that the relevant vase-paintings from Sicily, although few in number,¹⁷ tend to be more overt in signalling their theatrical connections.¹⁸ One that is of particular importance for present concerns is the fragmentary calyx-krater of c. 330s BC, excavated at Syracuse in 1969 (Figure 11.1).¹⁹ This has indications of a stage-setting, and it represents, as is almost universally agreed, a particular scene from Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*. What is especially telling is that the painting captures the moment when Jocasta raises her cloak to her face as she first recognises the truth, a moment that should be eye-catching in performance, but is not directly marked in the spoken text at the time. The appeal of the vase is directed, that is to say, at a viewer who

¹⁶ See Hughes (1996). See also Csapo (2007) on the highly organised business of theatre-construction in wood.

¹⁷ Todisco (2003b) catalogues 20 Sicilian vases that have been reasonably proposed for a connection with tragedy, as compared with 56 Lucanian and 243 Apulian.

¹⁸ See *P&P* 18–19 and 271 n. 85. I register, however, that it was a mistake to include no. 106 (263–4), the fragment excavated at Contessa Entellina: Green (2007b) is very probably right to say that this is related to comedy not tragedy.

¹⁹ *P&P* 90–2, no. 22. Green (cited in previous note) suggests that the two little daughters might well have been on stage during actual performance of this scene. This is not out of the question, but it is not a necessary supposition in order to assert the unusually close relation between this vase and performance.



Figure 11.1 Sicilian calyx-krater with Oedipus, c. 330s BC. Museo Archeologico Regionale “Paolo Orsi,” Syracuse.

has seen the play rather than one who has read it or only heard about it.²⁰

While the Sicilian vases include more traces of the performance of tragedy, there is a group of relatively early vessels (not given sufficient attention in *Pots & Plays*) which are of special interest for the topic of the spread of performance to the west. They come from ‘Lucania’,²¹ from a single tomb excavated at Policoro, ancient Heraclea, in 1963.²² This contained twelve

²⁰ It seems ironic that Aristotle, who insists at *Poetics* 1453b3 that one can experience the whole tragic effect of *Oedipus* without seeing the play, also singles out this particular performance-moment for praise at *Poet.* 1452a24.

²¹ The area of Magna Graecia in question was thus designated by the Romans, and is now administered as Basilicata. This geographical division and that of ‘Apulia’ do not go back to the Greeks.

²² The vases were well published by Degraffi (1967) 193–231; further supplemented by Trendall (1967) 55–8. There is a useful brief account of the tomb in Todisco (2003b) 533–4.

unusually large and fine painted pots, all by contemporary local ('Lucanian') craftsmen, and dated by Trendall to between 420 and 390 BC. The tomb seems as likely to date from shortly before 400 as shortly after. What is so remarkable is that seven of these vases show mythological scenes; that all of these might in varying degrees be related to tragedy; and that three can be connected with some probability to Euripides.

In two cases the myth is portrayed in a version which was very probably the invention of Euripides not many years earlier. In the third case it is more a matter of the Euripides play being by far the most likely way that the myth became known at Heraclea. This last is the pelike,²³ attributed to the Carneia Painter, showing Iolaus and young descendants of Heracles taking refuge at an altar, framed between the threatening herald of Eurystheus on one side, and their potential protector Athena on the other (Figure 11.2). I do not detect anything here that is conspicuously specific to Euripides' *Heracleidae* of c. 430, but the reperformance of that play is surely the most plausible explanation of why it should be this particularly Athenian episode of the story that was picked out for display at Heraclea, a city recently founded in 432, and with close ties to the Sparta-related city of Tarentum. It also, interestingly, suggests that political and military alignments did not necessarily dictate cultural and artistic interrelations.²⁴

The now well-known Medea hydria by the Policoro Painter shows her (labelled) in her supernatural chariot as she flies away, out of reach of Jason's puny attempt at revenge (Figure 11.3).²⁵ It is very likely that this escape and its vehicle were both inventions of Euripides in his *Medea* of 431 BC.²⁶ So too, very probably, was her very act of infanticide, which is also evidently evoked by this painting. It is striking how the high, almost horizontal, shoulders of the hydria are used to separate the airborne Medea from the earthbound men below. If a theatrical association is once accepted, it is hard to resist associating this plastic composition with the theatrical flying-machine, the *mechanē* (see further below). Even without the corroboration of the other pots from this same tomb, the case for relating the narrative dynamics of this painting to a performance of Euripides' *Medea* would be strong.

Thirdly a pelike, also by the Policoro Painter, shows Dirce bound beneath a bull by Amphion and Zethus, in revenge for her attempt to kill their

²³ *P&P* 126–7, no. 37.

²⁴ It is worth recalling the popularity of Euripides at Syracuse, even during the war. On Heraclea and tragedy cf. Dearden (1999) 236; Allan (2001).

²⁵ *P&P* 117–21, no. 34; cf. 114–15. Fresh relevant discussion by Lada-Richards (2009) 135–40.

²⁶ See Mastronarde (2002) on line 1317.

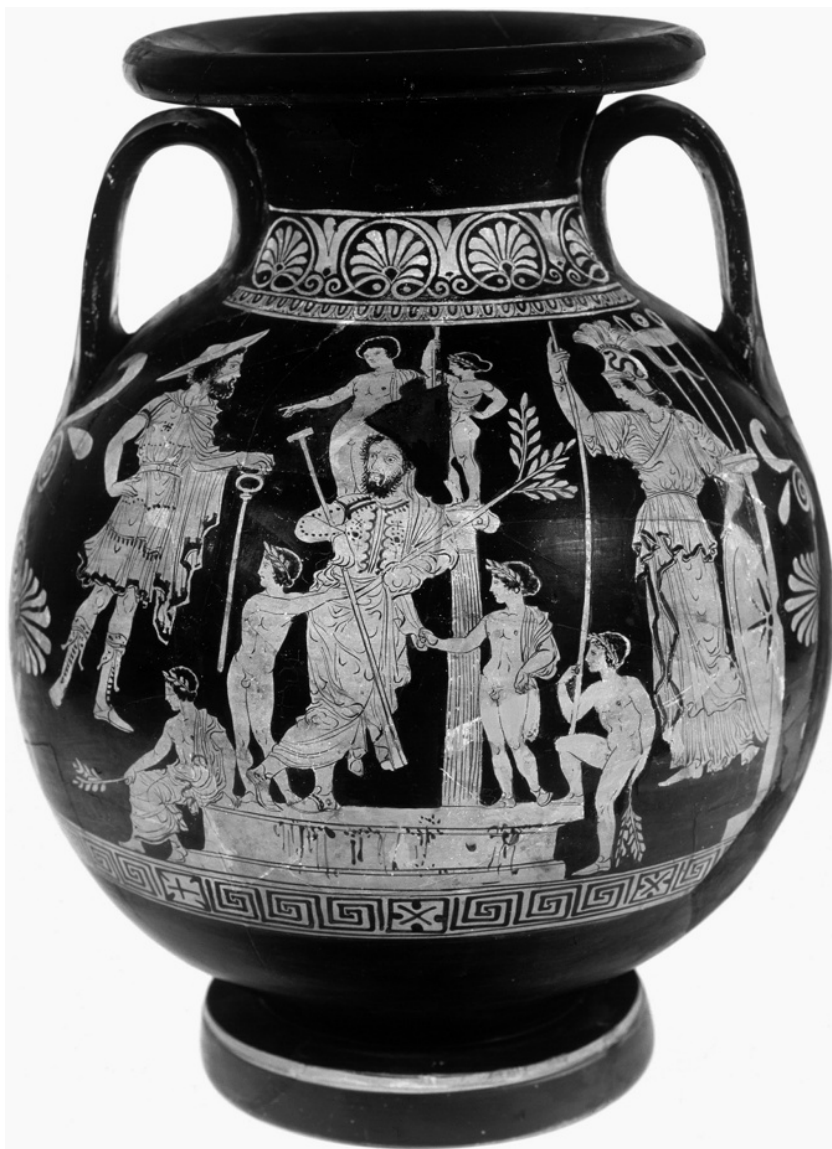


Figure 11.2 Lucanian pelike with the myth of the Heracleidae, c. 400 BC. Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide.

mother Antiope (newly reunited with them) (Figure 11.4).²⁷ It is very likely that the entire story of the brutal punishment of Dirce was an invention of Euripides in his play *Antiope*. In other words, although this painting gives

²⁷ Fully discussed in Taplin (1998), and hence omitted from *P&P* (a decision I regret). Some discussion on 107–8 and 285 n. 61.



Figure 11.3 Lucanian Hydria related to Euripides' *Medea*, c. 400 BC. Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide.

no overt indication that the story of her fate was derived from the tragedy, where it was recounted in a messenger speech, it would mean something specific only to viewers who knew the Euripides. And in 400 BC this is immeasurably more likely to have been disseminated through performance than through reading or any other means. Indeed the play may have been still very new at the time the vase was painted. Stylistic indications from the fragments of *Antiope* indicate a date of c. 420, but documentary evidence points towards c. 410.²⁸ In any case, the vase was probably painted within twenty years of the first performance, and possibly within less than ten years. This may suggest that by the later fifth century Athenian 'hits' were reperformed elsewhere soon after their premiere.

²⁸ Both Kannicht (2004) 1, 274 and Collard (2005) 269 incline towards the later date.



Figure 11.4 Red-figure pelike with the punishment of Dirce tied to a bull, end fifth century BC. Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide.

None of the other mythological scenes can be connected so cogently with tragedy as these three, although an association is not out of the question for any of them. A hydria by the Policoro Painter, which is very similar in shape to the Medea one, shows on its high shoulder Sleep and Death carrying the body of Sarpedon (labelled) above a battle scene on the main body below (Figure 11.5).²⁹ This may, again, bring the theatrical *mechanē* to mind,

²⁹ Trendall (1967) 57/285 with plates 26.2 and 27.2. The most easily accessible picture is in Trendall (1989) no. 27.



Figure 11.5 Red-figure hydria with the death of Sarpedon, c. 400 BC. Policoro, Museo Nazionale della Siritide.

particularly when it is associated with the Apulian krater of similar date which shows Sarpedon's body conveyed through the air home to his mother, Europa, a composition which might possibly be related to Aeschylus' tragedy named after her.³⁰ Another such hydria shows Pelops and Hippodameia in a chariot with an Eros above on the shoulder.³¹ It is not impossible that this is related to an *Oenomaus* tragedy, but I can detect no positive encouragement towards such a link.

The subject matter on another pelike by the Policoro Painter may seem rather closer to 'tragic': this probably shows Polynices and Eriphyle receiving his necklace-bribe, with a figure in between, possibly the doomed Amphiaraus.³² And a pelike by the Carneia Painter is a further possible

³⁰ This is *P&P* 72–4, no. 14. ³¹ Trendall (1967) 57/284 with plates 26.1 and 27.1.

³² Trendall (1967) 58/287 with plates 27.5–6; also in Trendall and Webster (1971) as III.5.3.

candidate for an Athenian tragic connection.³³ On one side Poseidon, trident at the ready, rides out along with an attendant, also on horseback; on the other side Athena, with her spear, sets out in a chariot, along with a female charioteer. While I do not see any strong reason to connect this iconography with Euripides' *Erechtheus* in particular, it is worth registering that this, like the same painter's *Heracleidae* (see above), is another very Athenian story. Is tragedy not the most likely vehicle for the dissemination of such myths, and the most likely way for them to have been accepted in a city with anti-Athenian affiliations?

To pull this discussion together, the Policoro tomb of c. 400 BC includes two particularly Athenian myths, one of them probably related to Euripides' *Heracleidae* (Figure 11.2); two *mechane*-like flying scenes, one probably related to Euripides' *Medea* (Figure 11.3); and a scene which is almost certainly derived from Euripides' *Antiope* (Figure 11.4). Together they encourage the speculation that the occupant of this tomb, or at least the family concerned, had developed an enthusiasm for the new Athenian art form;³⁴ and that they regarded tragedy as a suitable evocation for a funerary context. The vases add up to a good case for the activity of performances of tragedy, especially of Euripides, in Heraclea before 390 BC, maybe even within Euripides' lifetime.

Reconstructing the activities of travelling players

From about 300 BC onwards there is ample evidence, much of it epigraphic, for the activities of the large and prestigious troupes of the *Technitai*, Artists of Dionysus.³⁵ But they did not, of course, spring up out of nothing. I hope that it can now be taken as a well-grounded hypothesis that over the period from 450 to 300 BC tragedies – predominantly though not necessarily exclusively Athenian tragedies – were being performed widely and regularly throughout the scattered Greek world, with the audiences in Sicily and Magna Graecia probably among the keenest promoters of the hugely popular new art-form. Accepting this as a working hypothesis, this chapter will now go on to ask a sequence of connected questions. How, in practical terms, was tragedy (and *mutatis mutandis* comedy) disseminated? How did it become

³³ Trendall (1967) 55/282 with plates 25.3–4. Both sides are illustrated as Trendall (1989) no. 24.

³⁴ Cf. Trendall (1989) 22: 'one wonders whether the set from the Policoro tomb might not have been specially commissioned for someone who had a special fondness for Euripidean drama...'

³⁵ The earliest reference, from about 330, is Aristotle *Rh.* 1405a23. On the Artists see Csapo and Slater (1995), ch. 4, and, above all, Le Guen (2001).



Figure 11.6 Lucanian column-krater, probably related to Euripides' *Heracleidae*, c. 400 bc. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

more and more widely known and increasingly in demand? Who performed it and under what circumstances? The lack of direct evidence means that this very interesting jigsaw-puzzle piece and key episode of Greek theatre history has to be largely compiled as a web of speculation. But that, emphatically, does not mean that it is not worth the attempt.

The 'key players' are surely travelling players, troupes of professional actors. What is the most likely scenario for the development of these

companies? Eric Csapo and others have persuasively homed in on the crucial catalyst for the process of the spread of their performances, namely the dramatic festivals that were held in the demes of Attica, the Rural Dionysia.³⁶ Until recently these have been mostly treated as rather quaint rustic celebrations, at which some rather marginal and second-rung theatre was performed. It is now being demonstrated, however, that they were already serious cultural events in the fifth century, and that the theatrical performances were a major – and expensive – part of them. This re-evaluation is mostly based on archaeological and epigraphic evidence. But there are also some documentary indications which have been mistakenly underinterpreted, as Csapo shows. A particularly telling example is *Republic* 475a where Plato disparages theatre-lovers (*philotheamones*), who go rushing around the Dionysia, ‘not missing any, neither in the cities nor the villages.’ This simultaneously shows that Rural Dionysia performances attracted wider interest, and that theatre was performed in other cities (plural) as well as at Athens. Secondly, Demosthenes, in the course of doing down Aeschines with anecdotes of how he used to perform as a hack actor round the circuit of the Attic demes, lets slip that he played tritagonist to Aristodemus.³⁷ But this is *the* Aristodemus, a highly celebrated megastar who could command huge fees. As Peter Wilson argues, ‘the resources collectively devoted to theatre by the Attic demes are one of the most important factors in the expansion of theatre more generally, for the demes created the first relatively stable market to feed the nascent theatrical professions’.³⁸

Once it is recognised that increasingly after, say, 450 the circuit of performances at the rural Dionysia became big business, attracting attention and prestige, then it is an easy step to conjecture that other cities beyond Attica would invite the professional or semi-professional players to perform for them. There were the substantial Athenian cleruchies, for example on Lemnos; Eretria was only a short boat-trip across from Attica; and so on. If the practice of actors, travelling with a repertoire, was once set up, it is not hard to think of places where, on cultural or archaeological grounds or both, theatre was likely to have spread earlier rather than later: Argos, Isthmia, Megara, Syracuse, Gela, Thurii, Metapontum, Heraclea. Csapo calculates that, including both Attica and further afield:

³⁶ Csapo (2004) and (2010a); cf. Dearden (1999). Wilson in Le Guen (2010) reveals the huge economic investment put into these festivals.

³⁷ *False Embassy* 247, cf. *De cor.* 262. Demosthenes also supplies early evidence for a professional travelling actor – see *Against Euboulides* 13, referring to the late fifth century; cf. Lada-Richards (2009) 155 n. 99.

³⁸ Wilson (2010).

we have by 440 BC certain evidence for five regular festivals where dramatic performances took place, and . . . possible evidence for fourteen. By 400 BC we have eleven festivals certainly offering theatre, seventeen . . . probable, and twenty-eight that are either certain or likely . . . by 340 BC twenty-three [certain] festivals . . . and as many as fifty-five for which evidence survives to show a strong likelihood of drama.³⁹

The actors are come hither, my lord. It is tempting, but probably mistaken, to think fondly of the itinerant players in *Hamlet*, who turn up unpredictably. It is much more likely in the scattered Greek world that the performers responded to invitation. In that case, what sorts of occasions were suitable for theatre? Presumably it was mainly local festivals of Dionysus, as is confirmed by the Plato *Republic* passage just cited. But there may have been performances in honour of other gods as well. There is evidence, for instance, of drama at a festival of Zeus and the Muses at Dion.⁴⁰ And it has been recently suggested that in Sicily festivals of Demeter and Kore may have provided a context for the early spread of drama.⁴¹ Although we have no evidence for this (nor against), it must be a possibility that more remote and/or non-Greek communities issued invitations to single troupes for a special occasion, such as a funeral. See further the Appendix below.

Given a festival context, does that mean there was a drama competition, as at Athens? Possibly not at first, and possibly not always, but we do not have any evidence of theatre (before Alexander) in non-agonistic contexts, except for the special commissions by Hieron and Archelaus. Plato's complaint (*Laws* 659c) against 'the custom these days in Sicily and Italy' of awarding the prize to the performance that wins most popular applause, clearly takes it for granted that competition in the theatre was the norm. So the most likely scenario is that cities beyond Athens set up prizes that were sufficiently attractive to draw more than one competing troupe of actors to their (probably annual) festival.⁴² And while these troupes may at first have been those who also played at the Rural Dionysia in Attica, it may be that, with time, local theatrical enterprises will have developed as well.

What, then, would have been the personnel of these travelling troupes? The 'minimum kit' must have been three actors, headed, no doubt, by the

³⁹ Csapo (2010a) 103. ⁴⁰ Arrian 1.11.1.

⁴¹ Kowalzig (2008). My suggestion at Taplin (1999) 46 that tragedy might have been performed at the amphictyonic festival at Thermopylae is taken seriously by Hornblower (2008) on Thuc. 5.51.1. There is evidence that the Athenian *Technitai* had special standing with the Amphictyons (Le Guen (2001) no. 2).

⁴² At *P&P* 43 I suggested that the three or four tragedy-related vases where the picture is framed between a pair of tripods might have been commissioned to celebrate victories.

protagonistes, the more prestigious the better. It is more than possible that a fourth player in the *équipe* would have been responsible for the spoken lines attributed to the 'Chorus', lines which were most probably delivered by a single 'coryphaeus' (see further below). It is pretty likely that a small number of attendants or 'stagehands,' whether slaves or free apprentices, also accompanied them.

Were the members of a chorus included in the travelling players, in addition to the actors? Although we know that there were choreuts in the highly organised guilds of the *Technitae* in the third century, I think it unlikely that this goes back to the fourth century, let alone the fifth. At Athens membership of a dramatic chorus at the City Dionysia (whether for tragedy or comedy) was restricted to citizens – although the participating playwrights, actors and musicians did not need to be citizens. This is in keeping with all the many indications that choruses in the Classical 'song culture' as a whole were a function of civic coherence. This was probably the case even in the micro-culture of the Attic demes; in other words, the troupes of actors will have been joined by a local chorus made up of demesmen and trained at the expense of a deme-member choregus.⁴³ The same was most probably the case beyond Attica also.

Going right back to the performances of *Aetnaeae* and *Persae* in Sicily, it is likely that the choruses were Syracusan, although surely trained by Aeschylus himself. Likewise the chorus of Euripides' *Archelaus* will probably have consisted of Macedonians. Choral performance over a range of genres was, after all, part of the communal life of all Greek cities in this period.⁴⁴ Adapting those familiar skills of performance to the choral odes of tragedy does not seem a mighty step: importing choreuts from Athens (or anywhere else) would, on the other hand, have involved much more trouble and expense. And that 'importation' might well have been felt as a slight to local pride and expertise.⁴⁵

Assuming, then, that the chorus-members were local, will they have trained to perform the original words, music and choreography of the choral songs of each tragedy? (Or of each comedy, indeed?) Any answer is necessarily speculative, and the practice may not have been uniform across time or place. In the early days, meaning the age of Aeschylus and mid fifth century, it is more likely to have been felt that the 'authentic' lyrics, as

⁴³ Csapo (2010a) 91 argues cogently that the list of *tragoidoi* in IG³ 969, dating from the 430s, are the members of a deme-chorus from Anagyrous.

⁴⁴ See further Morgan, this volume.

⁴⁵ Wilson (2000) 289 maintains that even in the third century some cities, e.g. Cos, were proud to provide their own choruses to combine with actors of the *Technitae*.

composed by the *poietai* himself, were indispensable. And the more lavish and special the occasion, the more trouble and expense will have gone into the *choregia*. But as performances became increasingly widespread and frequent, and as the economic resources maybe became consequently more thinly spread, it is plausible to suppose that the local choruses will have started providing their own 'interludes' rather than the poets' original words, dance and music.⁴⁶

These will inevitably have had relatively little direct connection with the play in question, or even no connection at all. It may have been this tendency that lay behind the growing practice of *embolima* – intruded interludes – that are so deplored by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1456a25). It may even have been, as Aristotle implies, the playwrights themselves, starting with Agathon, who composed the self-standing songs that could be slotted into any play. In that case, the practice of writing *chorou* (*melos*) in the texts of plays, instead of copying out the original lyric, would probably be part of the same developing performance practice. The scripts which were the originals of those texts which we have containing 'chorou' were predominantly composed in the fourth rather than fifth century; so it may be that these never did include their own specific lyrics, simply the indication to local performers that a choral song should come at these junctures. There undoubtedly was to some degree, as Aristotle complains, a decline in the dramatic and poetic significance of the chorus. But the contextual evidence suggests that the centrality of the chorus to the conception of what theatre meant as a cultural event, both tragedy and comedy, seems to have remained firm. This explanation of *embolima* and related phenomena in the light of local performances retains the essential participation of the citizen-chorus, while positing that the original lyrics, going back to the *poietai*, were not held to be 'sacred' or indispensable. We regard that as a diminution of the importance of the chorus, since it is a diminution of their poetic integration, but it was not necessarily perceived as such in the cities that provided the choral entertainment.

A further related question: what happened to the lyric dialogues? There is at least one in every known tragedy, and they are usually integral to the narrative of the play in a way that the odes are not. They cannot be omitted or replaced without more obvious damage to the dramatic fabric. It strikes me as a real possibility that these were performed by the professional coryphaeus alone, singing 'on behalf of the chorus', so to speak.

⁴⁶ The situation at non-Greek venues – if they hosted performances, see Appendix below – would have been different presumably. Maybe the actors even adapted the plays into versions that did not include a chorus at all?

So it is possible – even probable – that the original choral odes were replaced by locally prepared, sometimes completely unconnected, songs. This raises the larger question of whether, and how far, the plays were altered or adapted when played in the repertoire of touring players.⁴⁷ This issue of adaptation, especially textual adaptation, has been explored with rigour and expertise by Martin Revermann in a section of his book entitled ‘How authentic is the transmitted performance script, in view of reperformance?’⁴⁸ For comedy Revermann concludes that, while we simply cannot know how much or how little was altered in practical performance, the *texts* of Aristophanes which have been transmitted to us are to a high degree ‘authentic’: that is to say that they are largely untampered-with copies descended from a version that goes back to Aristophanes himself.⁴⁹ A family archive is, he argues persuasively, the most plausible explanation for this remarkable degree of accuracy.

One might have thought at first sight that it would be likely that alteration and adaptation would have occurred with comedy, or Old Comedy at least, where there is a considerable amount of topical, local and ephemeral matter, but not with the more ‘respectable’ tragedy. So it may seem paradoxical that comedy should have been preserved with less alteration and tampering than tragedy: yet that is almost certainly the case. All but the most dedicatedly conservative textual critics accept that our tragedies have been quite extensively altered by actors in the course of transmission, especially by the addition of interpolated lines. While such interpolations are most frequent in the popular plays of Euripides, the most striking example is the ending of *Seven against Thebes*.⁵⁰ Most critics, myself included, take it that the entire final scene, lines 1005–78, has been added, and that other smaller changes have been made to facilitate this. The most probable motive was to create a version for presentation to audiences who were so familiar with Sophocles’ *Antigone* that they expected her to intervene.

We know regrettably little about the mechanics of the early transmission of the canonical tragedians – the role of family archives, the editorial methods employed for the official Athenian version authorised by Lycurgus

⁴⁷ Lada-Richards (2009) 123–35 emphasises that continual alteration has been the standard practice in many eras of theatre history; and she rightly insists that this is not purely and simply a bad thing.

⁴⁸ Revermann (2006) 66–95.

⁴⁹ I agree with Revermann (2006) 254–7 that the transmitted ending of *Lysistrata* has, however, been added to Aristophanes’ play to please a philo-Laonian audience. His theory is that this goes back to a reperformance in Tarentum.

⁵⁰ Leaving aside *Iphigenia at Aulis*, which was surely left unfinished by Euripides. Page (1934) remains the fullest study of actors’ interpolations.

in the later fourth century, and so forth – but it is as good as certain that actors did alter the texts, especially by additions, and that these changes have left far from negligible traces in our texts. It may well be, in fact, that some of the actors made far more extensive adaptations of the texts during the first 100 years or so after their first performance, but that those were, for whatever reason, not incorporated into the canonical texts that lie behind those transmitted to us.⁵¹ It is worth noting that all or nearly all the actors' interpolations seem to have been made to inflate the players' roles, and few if any can be attributed to the desire to gratify any particular local audiences.

There is a further, and no less unanswerable, question. To what extent might the travelling actors have felt some compunction to follow what they could ascertain about the staging of the original production, under the direction of the *poietes* himself? Or to what extent did they feel free to create their own autonomous stagings – like most directors and actors in modern times? There is some material about actors' business in our scholia, for example a procession before the first lines of Euripides' *Orestes*, but none of this can be securely dated to before 300 BC.⁵² There are, however, some iconographic features in the fourth-century vase-paintings which, while they do not fit the textual indicators of the original production, might be partly attributable to the traditions of the actors rather than, or as well as, the inventiveness of the painters. An example might be the portrayal of winged and beautiful Erinyes. These are often found in (among others) scenes of Orestes' taking refuge at Delphi, even though our text of Aeschylus indicates explicitly that his Erinyes were ugly and wingless.⁵³

A particularly intriguing instance may be Medea's snake-/dragon-drawn chariot. These prodigies are nowhere indicated in the Euripides text (as we have it). And one might have expected that, if the Chariot of the Sun was to be drawn by any creatures, they would be horses. Yet there are the snakes in the earliest representations of Medea's escape, dating from c. 400.⁵⁴ From then on they become a standard attribute of Medea in both art and literature. Could it be that the dragon-chariot was originally the invention of a troupe of actors, one that was such a success that it became universally one of her accoutrements from then on? It might have been the snake-chariot associated with Demeter that first inspired the idea, and even supplied the stage-prop, but these Medea-snakes are highly effective and ambivalent in

⁵¹ See the spirited advocacy of this by Lada-Richards (2009) esp. 131–2.

⁵² A useful collection of these passages in Csapo and Slater (1995) 26–30. ⁵³ See *P&P* 58–9.

⁵⁴ See *P&P* nos. 34 (Policoro, see Figure 11.3 above) and 35, discussed on 114–23.

their own right. They suggest danger and safety, poison and healing, attack and protection; they may also hint at the Erinyes as well as at the dragon that guarded the Golden Fleece. There is no suggestion of any of this in the text, but one can see how, once they had been employed in performance, they stuck.

The early iconography of *Heracleidae* may possibly supply some undetected evidence, not for the inventiveness of actors so much as the variability of their stagings. We have two fine vases, both of similar date, c. 400, the work of two closely related 'Lucanian' painters (Figures 11.2 and 11.6).⁵⁵ Both show a scene of the suppliant descendants and kin of Heracles threatened by the herald of Eurystheus; and both give indications of their eventual protection by Athens. Yet there are many differences also, including the portrayal of the two central characters, Iolaus and the Herald. On the pelike from Policoro the herald is a beefy, bearded man of middle-age; on the krater in Berlin he is young, beardless and naked (as are nearly all young men on mythical vases of this period). Iolaus on the Policoro vase stands, middle-aged rather than old, with black hair and beard but lined face – not as ancient, that is, as is indicated by Euripides' text. On the Berlin vase, on the other hand, he sits holding a stick, and looks generally frail; his hair and beard are conspicuously white.⁵⁶ The striking contrast between these two portrayals might be simply put down to the differing imaginations and techniques of the two painters. An alternative explanation, however, might be that they were prompted by separate theatrical presentations, staged with different actions and different masks.

These guesses about masks lead on to a final set of questions: how much in the way of 'equipment' (*skeuē*) did the travelling players take around with them, and how much was supplied by the host city? Yet again, the lack of clear evidence means that this has to be largely a matter of likely possibilities. For a start, however, it is extremely likely that they carried their own masks round with them – these are highly personal items for actors. It is also likely that they brought along their own costumes and footwear. While the vase-paintings, such as those from Policoro discussed above, do not show fabrics as highly ornamented as those on the Pronomos vase, they are still fancy outfits – expensive, no doubt, and far from everyday wear. So too their boots. The claim that these costumes, which are found in many mythological vase-paintings, were very similar to those actually worn by actors in the tragic theatre has been conclusively confirmed by the

⁵⁵ These are *P&P* nos. 37, a hydria from Policoro by the Carneia Painter and 38, a column-krater by the Policoro Painter, now in Berlin; they are discussed on 126–30 of *P&P*.

⁵⁶ The only white used in the painting, unless some has come off.

tragedy figure, Aegisthus, on the Choregos vase.⁵⁷ For sheer practicality it also seems likely that the players supplied their own small and common props, like swords, hats, sceptres and caskets. It would have probably been more trouble than it was worth to source them in each venue on arrival.

The likelihoods are more difficult to weigh for the next stage up in the scale of stage props. I have in mind, in particular, the stage altar, throne, couch and stool. The employment of these is often indicated by the texts, and they are also found frequently in the tragedy-related vase-paintings. They are so commonly called for that, given their size, it seems rather more likely that the host theatre would have had them available for shared use rather than expecting the players to transport their own.

Whatever the case with such middle-sized *skeuē*, it was surely up to the host theatre to supply the larger fixtures, such as stage, background building, doors, architectural features, whether painted in two or three dimensions, porticos etc.⁵⁸ Despite Plato's disparaging reference to carpentry in the agora (see above), it is as good as sure that any city which aspired to attract visiting players would have supplied the wooden and painted structures which were the basic settings for Greek plays, both tragedy and comedy. The notion that the players would have travelled around with a huge quantity of timber, painted screens etc. (like a modern company with its pantotechnicons) does not stand up to serious consideration. And, after all, as time went by, some cities regarded it as a prestige undertaking to construct their theatres in stone.

This also raises questions about the *ekkyklema* (the wheeled trolley), and the flying machine, the *mechanē*.⁵⁹ Indeed the *mechanē* becomes closely associated with the whole experience of tragic theatre. However clumsy it would appear if seen by modern eyes, used to elaborate illusionism, the 'flying' god or other character was evidently regarded as an unfailingly exciting spectacle. It must have involved quite an elaborate construction of carpentry, probably using a swivelling beam, and certainly requiring a system of pulleys. This was most probably part of what a host theatre was expected to have ready available for the travelling actors when they arrived.

In a well-known fragment of Antiphanes' comedy *Poiesis* (fr. 189), a character who is protesting on behalf of the poets of comedy complains about what an easy time the tragic poets have by comparison. "When they

⁵⁷ This has been returned from the Getty Museum to Italy. Fortunately there are several good photographs available, including *P&P* p. 28 fig. 7. On costume cf. Wyles in Taplin and Wyles (2010).

⁵⁸ Including the peculiar rocky arch/cave found on some vases – see *P&P* 39.

⁵⁹ The classic account of the use of the *mechanē* is Mastronarde (1990).

have no strength left to say anything else . . . they lift up the *mechanē* like a finger, and everything is fine so far as the audience is concerned.’ It may seem that I have conjured up the travelling players rather like gods *apo mechanēs* in a Greek tragedy, as a last resort to sort out an otherwise insoluble complex of problems. They are the unsubstantiated missing piece of the jigsaw. But, however thin the direct evidence for their activities, I hope to have made a good case for regarding them as, indeed, the “key players” in the highly significant phenomenon of the spread of theatre performance outside Athens.

Appendix | Did travelling players perform for non-Greek audiences?

I have restricted the demographic scope of this chapter to the Greeks in Sicily and in the cities in Italy that face south over the Mar Ionico. I have deliberately not included the ‘indigenous’ non-Greek settlements, neither in Sicily nor Italy. Yet, these locations include the places where many of the most interesting theatre-related vases were buried, particularly the Daunian/Peucatan towns of Canosa and Ruvo in northern Apulia. These are both some distance away from the Greek cities, close to the other coast which faces north-east towards the Mar Adriatico.

I argued briefly at *Pots & Plays* 21–2 that the assimilation of Greek art and theatre must have extended to all of Apulia. As is well brought out by Tom Carpenter’s important article (2009), it is an oversimplification and anachronism to treat the whole of ‘Apulia’ as some sort of cultural unity. He also cogently warns against supposing that Greek culture must have reached the interior and north of ‘Apulia’ entirely through the ‘funnel’ of Taras/Tarentum, however wealthy and sophisticated that city was. The northern towns, with an important harbour at Bari, may well have looked directly towards the Greek mainland for their acculturation; and Carpenter gives reasons for thinking that there were especially close relations between Ruvo and Athens.⁶⁰

The fact remains, however, that we have so little external evidence about the spread of Greek culture, including theatre, to the ‘indigenous’ areas of Apulia that there are those who maintain the view that places like Ruvo were entirely mono-cultural and monoglot (in some form of Messapian or Oscan). If true, then it would be out of the question, *a fortiori*, that travelling players put on tragedy (or comedy) in Greek in these places. And this is, indeed, the line taken by Luigi Todisco in the next chapter of this volume. He concludes that the vases must have been explained to their purchasers and viewers in their own language by the vase-painters themselves.⁶¹ The painters would, in that case, have presumably been bilingual, as well as

⁶⁰ Carpenter (2009) 31; see also Robinson (2004).

⁶¹ This theory adapts and takes issue with that of Giuliani (1995), who – less implausibly – makes professional funeral orators into the key intermediary interpreters of the mythological paintings.

having considerable experience and understanding of many Greek tragedies in Greek.

The case put forward by Todisco and others with similar views is founded on the claim that there is little evidence that the ‘indigenous’ Italians were at all acculturated in Greek language,⁶² let alone so well versed in it that they would have been able to understand and to appreciate Greek plays in performance. In other words, those who commissioned these paintings for funerary occasions, and those who were buried with them, will never have actually seen or heard a Greek tragedy, unless it were to have been translated and adapted into their own native language – something which is most unlikely at this early period . . . or is it?

I shall put forward here just one kind of evidence which by itself, I believe, makes Todisco’s kind of case for monoglot illiteracy highly questionable: it has to rule out of court a whole category of evidence, namely the Greek name-labels that are inscribed on a significant number of the painted vases in question. I imagine that Todisco would suppose that they are there as some sort of mnemonic for the Greek vase-painters to help them explain the paintings to their purchasers. But why should they want any such signals to remind them of what they had put there themselves in the first place? It is, surely, far more likely that these inscriptions are there for the viewers of the scenes, functioning as some sort of prompt or reinforcement for the mythological narrative.

Above all, however, Ruvo was the provenance of the celebrated ‘Pronomos vase’. This Attic volute-krater of *c.* 400 spells out fifteen names, including those of Dionysus, Himeros and Heracles.⁶³ It is not, of course, plausible to suggest that the entire company shown and named on the vase visited Ruvo, not least because there are many signs, including the Theban aulete Pronomos himself, that the context for the scene is Athens.⁶⁴ It seems by no means impossible, however, that a citizen of Ruvo had visited Athens at the time of a Great Dionysia, and had brought back this vase as a kind of ‘memento’. I wonder whether he might even have brought it home in order to give his fellow-Ruvans a vivid idea of what theatre at Athens was like,

⁶² There is, however, Thucydides 7.33 on long-term associations between ‘the Messapian tribe’ and Athens, cf. Robinson (2004) 197, and Hornblower (2008) 607–8. As is explored in several chapters in this book (especially those by Hall, Marconi and Vassallo), there is evidence for considerable interconnectedness between Greeks and other ethnic cultures.

⁶³ Taplin and Wyles (2010) is an entire volume devoted to the various aspects of this vase in its contexts. The chapter by Lucilla Burn discusses its provenance in Ruvo; cf. Montanaro (2007) 494–5, 511–13.

⁶⁴ Several chapters in Taplin and Wyles (2010) confirm this, especially that by Csapo.

and to stimulate their desire to bring some form of this amazing kind of performance to their home town.

There is also a fine comic vase from Ruvo, the 'Milan Cake-Eaters' of c. 380 (see n. 9 above), which is inscribed with the names of its three characters. Both the names and the whole scene, with its comic costumes and stage, would surely have been meaningless to anyone who had never seen the theatrical performance of a Greek comedy? This is even more the case with the celebrated 'New York Goose vase', if it is true, as Montanaro has concluded, that even this came originally from a tomb at Ruvo.⁶⁵ This superb piece has not only all the apparatus of the comic stage, but even words issuing from the characters' mouths, written in clear Greek letters, and so far as one can tell, in Attic. The Tarporley Painter is thought to have worked in Tarentum; but this vase may be evidence that Greek comic performances had already reached Ruvo by 400.

Returning to the later Apulian tragedy-related vases, the name-labels on them, whether incised or painted on, are invariably lettered with clear calligraphy. And they are highly 'literate', which is to say that they are written with hardly any errors of orthography. This strongly suggests that the viewers of these art-works appreciated both the legibility and the accuracy of the name-labels. And, as has become increasingly clear as more and more inscribed vases have been published in the last forty years, almost all the names, whenever any dialect variations might be possible, are spelled in Attic forms.⁶⁶ Why should this be except to satisfy the viewer that the names are drawn from tragedy? This accuracy also militates against any suggestion that the inscriptions are there for purely ostentatious or decorative purposes.

It may, finally, be worth quantifying the frequency of inscriptions on one particular form of vessel, the volute-krater, which is, as Carpenter writes, 'the most characteristic of Apulian shapes, [is] found almost exclusively in Italic tombs and only very rarely in Greek contexts'.⁶⁷ If we take as our sample the 75 Apulian vases discussed in detail in *P&P*, 24 of them are volute-kraters; and of those half carry inscriptions, comprising about 70 names in all. Of those 24 volute-kraters, 8 are definitely or probably from Ruvo, 4 with inscriptions, and 3 are from Canosa, all 3 inscribed.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Montanaro (2007) 905, 910. I am indebted to Tom Carpenter for drawing my attention to this. I discussed this vase at Taplin (1993a) 30–2 (plate 10.2).

⁶⁶ Cf. Taplin (2007a) 42. ⁶⁷ Carpenter (2009) 32.

⁶⁸ Comparable results are reached by surveying the 243 Apulian vessels catalogued in Todisco (2003b) 405–92. Of these 70 are volute-kraters, and of those 25 have inscriptions. Of the 70, 25 are probably from Ruvo, 7 with name-labels, and 6 from Canosa, 4 inscribed.

My conclusion is that at least some members of the wealthy families of Ruvo and Canosa, who commissioned and buried these tragedy-related volute-kraters, knew and could read the Greek language. Granted that they are far more likely to have known the tragedies (and comedies) from performances than from texts, where would they have seen them? It is possible that they will have witnessed theatre exclusively by visiting the regional Greek cities when there were full performances being mounted. But it seems no less likely – in fact more likely – that they knew their Greek plays from having hosted travelling players for themselves. They might well have invited them directly (through the harbour of Bari) to their own part of the world, rather than communicating through Tarentum or other Greek cities to the south. And rather than setting up a Greek-style competitive occasion, it is possible that they used to commission single performances of a favoured play, particularly, perhaps, for specific prestigious funerals.⁶⁹

If this scenario is along the right lines, then we should admit the possibility that the actors might have mounted especially adapted versions including little or no choral material (see above). This would be in keeping with the near absence of any allusion to the chorus in the western Greek vase-paintings. These versions, tailored to the tastes and resources of appreciative Italian audiences, would be yet another tribute to the enterprise and adaptability of these shadowy ‘key players’ in the history of Greek theatre.

⁶⁹ I am indebted to Prof. Agnes Rouveret for sowing this idea.

12 | Myth and tragedy

Red-figure pottery and verbal communication in central and northern Apulia in the later fourth century BC

LUIGI TODISCO

Translated by Thomas Simpson

In 1995, Luca Giuliani undertook the task of reading the mythological scenes painted on a group of red-figure vases by Apulian ceramicists of the later fourth century.¹ Acquired by the Berlin Museum through the international antiquities market,² the vases were said to come from Canosa, an important center in ancient Daunia located near the northern border with Apulian Peucetia. The vases are believed to have been sold to members of the local native aristocracy of ancient Canosa.³ In this period, Apulian vases decorated with mythological scenes enjoyed a diffusion that extended progressively from colonies such as Metapontum and Tarentum into indigenous centers, at first into Peucetia, and subsequently into Daunia.⁴ In fact, although more vases by the Darius Painter (340–330 BC) are found today in Peucetia,⁵ more vases by the Baltimore Painter, the White Saccos Painter, and the Arpi Painter dating to between 330 and 300 BC, are found in Daunia. The highly complex and detailed mythological and epic scenes on these vases offer complex interpretations of specific literary texts.⁶ At the conclusion of his exemplary discussion of the iconography of the Berlin vases, Giuliani took up the problem of how the complex symbolic messages of figurative cycles decorating ceramic works were communicated.⁷ Given the accepted

¹ Giuliani (1995).

² On the disastrous consequences of the international trade of Apulian vases, see Graepler and Mazzei (1996).

³ On Canosa, the most useful synthesis remains that of Cassano (1992). On Peucetia and its northern border with Daunia, see instead Todisco (2010b).

⁴ Giuliani (1995) 15, with earlier bibliography. More recently, Carpenter (2003) 1–24, (2009) 27–38.

⁵ See Gadaleta (2010a) 317–26.

⁶ On the Darius Painter, see Schmidt (1960); Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 482–508; Aellen, Cambitoglou and Chamay (1986); Massa-Pairault (1996) 235–62. On the Baltimore Painter, see Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 856–88. On the White Saccos Painter, see Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 957–78. On the Arpi Painter, Todisco (2008) with earlier bibliography. On the complexity of the mythological scenes by these painters, see Todisco (2008) 63–4, with earlier bibliography.

⁷ He later returned to this subject in abbreviated form, but without adding significantly to his previous findings. Giuliani (1999) 43–51.

view that rich local consumers prized the deluxe monumental vases of Italiot ceramicists for their decorative cycles rich with Greek cultural references,⁸ it is logical to ask, as Giuliani did, what might have been the purchasers' actual degree of comprehension of the images represented on the vases.⁹

We know that these works were created primarily as luxury funerary accessories to be deposited in tombs. Given their cost, the sophistication of the pictures on them and the high quality of the vases,¹⁰ scholars have hypothesized that they must have been displayed to family and friends during funeral ceremonies for the deceased.¹¹ During these exhibitions, Giuliani proposed, the explanation of the iconography of the vases and the meaning of the drawings must have been the subject of a sort of funerary oration for the audience. Standing before the tomb, persons designated as "funeral orators" must have addressed an audience composed of listeners incapable of reading such complex iconographic scenes on their own. The orator would describe their symbolism and explain their messages so as to exalt and celebrate the deceased while consoling the living.¹² The Italo-German scholar framed his hypothesis with the support of documentation of Athenian funeral orations of the Archaic era and of the first half of the fourth century BC, although the documentation is not extensive,¹³ and with reference to the Roman tradition of the *laudatio funebris*.¹⁴ In search of the persons who might have delivered these discourses in the indigenous centers, Giuliani invoked the diffusion in the fourth and third centuries BC of itinerant performers such as the Dionysian *Technitai* (of whom we do not have any testimony in Tarentum or in Metapontum). These *Technitai* organized themselves into associations including rhapsodes, actors, and costume makers, and, for example, entertained at the festivities held by Philip II and Alexander in Greece and the East, or, for example, participated in competitions.¹⁵ Giuliani suggested that for such professionals¹⁶ it would have been a simple matter to stage elaborate funeral ceremonies even in locations far from Greek cultural centers.¹⁷

⁸ Giuliani (1995) 15. ⁹ Giuliani (1995) 152–8.

¹⁰ Recently Giuliani (1995) 13, 159 n. 5; (1999) 51. ¹¹ Giuliani (1995) 155.

¹² Giuliani (1995) 155–8, (1999) 44–5, 51.

¹³ Cic. *Leg.* 2.65; Diog. Laert. 2.55, cited in Giuliani (1995) 178 n. 549, 552.

¹⁴ Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* 6.1 = Usener (1895) 26, 10–2, cited in Giuliani (1995) 178 n. 556.

¹⁵ Dem. 19.192s.; Diod. Sic. 17.16; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 29 and 72, *Mor.* 334 E; Ath. 538e–f, cited in Giuliani (1995) 178 n. 565–9.

¹⁶ On traveling actors' troupes, see also Taplin, this volume.

¹⁷ Giuliani (1995) 158: "Unter der Voraussetzung, daß wachsende Teile der Bevölkerung – auch und vor allem drauben auf dem Lande – das Bedürfnis entwickelten, ihre Totenfeiern in aufwendiger Form zu begehen und durch ein griechisches Unterhaltungsprogramm anzureichern, konnten sich in Tarent entsprechende Dienstleistungsunternehmen

In the brief pages that follow, I will try to add a small contribution to the discussion about Giuliani's thesis, which has aroused some objection – for example, from O. Dally,¹⁸ M. Schmidt,¹⁹ and O. Taplin.²⁰ The favorable reception²¹ of his thesis in other quarters may in large part be due to the lack of any written tradition about Apulian funerary rites.²² I survey here the archaeological evidence for Apulian vases with paintings of myths and I consider three possible agents of the transmission of Greek myth to native populations: funeral orators, performing actors and the vase-painters themselves.

Survey of vases with mythical subjects

Facing a problem as thorny as that of verbal communication in Magna Graecia, and still more particularly, that of the iconography of the pictures on the vases in Daunia in the late fourth century BC, methodological correctness demands that we consider first the data available on the provenience and number of the vases.²³ It hardly needs to be repeated that the provenience of the majority of Italiot and Siceliot ceramics remains unknown, a factor that limits efforts to propose convincing historical reconstructions not only for individual local centers but even for larger geographical-cultural areas as well.²⁴

I leave aside a small number of vases from Ruvo di Puglia and Altamura showing scenes of the Underworld. For these vases, as for those found in Daunia (mentioned below), there is no homogeneous data about the provenience. Moreover, the references to the mythic tradition in the scenes depicted on the vases usually cannot be directly explained by precise narrative contexts.²⁵ Italiot vases of sure Peucetian provenience specifically

entwickelt haben, die – ähnlich wie bald darauf die Technitenvereine – das künstlerische Personal bereitstellten sowie auch die Infrastruktur besorgten. In diesem Fall hätten die Vasen einen ganz wesentlichen Teil einer solchen Infrastruktur gebildet: deren Maler hätten in einem solchen Unternehmen die Möglichkeit gehabt, vom ikonographischen Entwurf an in unmittelbarer Wechselwirkung mit literarisch gebildeten Trostrednern zusammenzuarbeiten.”

¹⁸ Dally (1997) 473–6, esp. 475. ¹⁹ Schmidt (2000) 438–43, esp. 441–2.

²⁰ Taplin (2007a) 22. ²¹ Todisco (2002) 20–4; Roscino (2003) 334–9; Green (2008) 170–1.

²² For Tarentum see Graepler (1997) in particular 149–93; Hoffmann (2002).

²³ Giuliani himself has raised this issue in Giuliani (1995) 13–15. See also more recently Carpenter (2003) 1–24.

²⁴ Graepler and Mazzei (1996) and more recently, for verified proveniences, Carpenter (2003) 1–24; Gadaleta (2010a) 317–26.

²⁵ On Underworld scenes on vases from Peucetia, see, in general, Roscino (2010) 331. Ruvo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (hereafter MAN) Jatta, krater fragment, from Ruvo. Pensa (1977) 25, 47; Todisco (2003b) 423 n. Ap 66. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, B 4, krater, from Ruvo. Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 431, n. 81; Todisco (2003b) 439, n. Ap. 107. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (hereafter MAN), 81666, H 3222, krater, from

bearing narrative scenes of mythology number no more than 140, distributed among Altamura, Bari, Ceglie del Campo, Conversano, Egnazia, Gravina in Puglia, Irsina, Monte Sannace, Rutigliano, Ruvo, Timmari and Valenzano.²⁶ Among the few tombs reconstructed thus far in these centers (where it is often difficult to determine how many deposits there are in burial areas which have degraded), the only one to contain a significant number of vases of this kind is the tomb discovered in Altamura in 1974.²⁷

The most recent data on the remaining examples in Peucetia are these:

- 6 vases, of which 1 is by the Darius Painter, and 5 are by the Circle of the Patera Painter or the Baltimore Painter,²⁸ in the tomb discovered in Altamura, via Bari in 1974
- 5 vases by the Berlin Dancing Girl Painter²⁹ in tomb 24/1976, Rutigliano³⁰
- 4 vases by the Darius Painter³¹ in the tomb discovered in Ruvo in 1832³²

Altamura. Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 431 n. 82; Todisco (2003b) 445 n. Ap. 122. Bari, Museo Archeologico Provinciale (hereafter MAP), 2396, krater fragment, from Ruvo. Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 863 n. 16; Todisco (2003b) 477 n. Ap. 206. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 148, krater fragment, from Ruvo. Söldner (1990) 36. Altamura, Museo Archeologico Statale (hereafter MAS), A10192, amphora, from Altamura. Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 763 n. 293.

²⁶ On Italiot vases from these centers, see Gadaleta (2010a) 317–26.

²⁷ Gadaleta (2003) 183–4, 560–2.

²⁸ Altamura, MAS, loutrophoros with Ion and Creusa at Delphi; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 499–500 n. 57; Todisco (2003b) 462 n. Ap. 169; Altamura, MAS, amphora fragment with Pentheus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 763 n. 293; Roscino (2010) 331 n. 26; Altamura, MAS, amphora fragment with Danaids (?); Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 763 n. 294; Altamura, MAS, krater fragment with Nereids; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 764 n. 295; Altamura, MAS, plate fragment with Bellerophon and the Chimaera; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 764 n. 296; Roscino (2010) 329 n. 15; Altamura, MAS, hydria fragment with Eos and Cephalos; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 764 n. 297; Schauenburg (1988) 294, 301–2; Green (1999) 59 n. 40; Roscino (2010) 331 n. 24.

²⁹ Tarentum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (hereafter MAN), 140601, oinochoe with Heracles and Cerberus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 434 n. 11b. Tarentum, MAN, 140602, amphora with Amazonomachy; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 434 n. 9a; Roscino (2011) 211 n. 3; Tarentum, MAN, 140637, pelike with Peleus and Amazon; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 435 n. 15a; Roscino (2011) 211 n. 5; Tarentum, MAN, 140638, amphora with Adrastus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 435 n. 12b; Roscino (2010) 330; Tarentum, MAN, 140639, krater with Amazonomachy and death of Memnon; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 435 n. 12a; Todisco (2003b) 405 n. Ap. 2; Roscino (2011) 211 n. 4.

³⁰ Gadaleta (2003) 167, 541–2.

³¹ Once Naples, MAN, 81942, H 1769, amphora with Chrysippus and Laius; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 484, 498 n. 48; Todisco (2003b) 464–5 n. Ap. 176; Roscino (2010) 331 n. 31; Naples, MAN, 81667, H 3256, krater with Pelops and Hippodamia, Eos and Tithonus, divinities; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 495–6 n. 40; Todisco (2003b) 465–6 n. Ap. 178; Roscino (2010) 331 n. 24; Naples, MAN, 81953, H 3219, amphora of panathenaic type with Lycurgus and Ambrosia; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 497, 1287 n. 45; Todisco (2003b) 469–70 n. Ap. 184; Roscino (2010) 332 n. 29; Naples, MAN, 81951, H 3220, amphora of panathenaic type with rape of Oreithyia; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 497–8 n. 47.

³² Gadaleta (2003) 187–8, 545–6.

- 3 or 4 vases³³ in a tomb discovered in Ruvo in 1836³⁴
- 3 vases, of which 1 by the British Museum (hereafter B.M.) F 308 Group and 2 by the Darius Painter,³⁵ in the tomb discovered in Ruvo in 1834³⁶
- 3 vases, of which 1 by the Sisyphus Painter and 2 by the Gravina Painter,³⁷ in tomb 1/1974 in Gravina in Puglia³⁸
- 2 vases by the Varrese Painter and the Darius Painter,³⁹ in the tomb discovered in Ruvo in 1828⁴⁰
- 2 vases by the Iliupersis Painter and by the Naples 3231 Group⁴¹ from three tombs discovered in Ruvo in 1835⁴²
- 2 vases by the Underworld Painter⁴³ from tomb 1/1970 in Altamura⁴⁴

³³ Naples, MAN, 81856, H 2893, lekythos with Heracles and the Hesperides; Cassano (1992) 120 n. 10.24; Naples, MAN, 82113, H3223, krater with Orestes, Pylades and Iphigenia, Iliupersis Painter; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 193 n. 3; Todisco (2003b) 425–6 n. Ap. 73; Naples, MAN, 81863, H 2910, situla with the theft of Rhesus' horses, Lycurgus Painter; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 417–18 n. 18; Giuliani (1996) 71–86; Todisco (2003b) 435–6 n. Ap. 100; Moscow, Pushkin Museum, n 1b 504, krater with Iphigenia among the Taurians, Moscow Iphigenia Group; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 478 n. 8; Todisco (2003b) 472 n. Ap. 192.

³⁴ Gadaleta (2003) 172–3, 543–4.

³⁵ Naples, MAN, 81944, H 1766, amphora with Hypsipyle, Eurydice, Amphiaraus, Lycurgus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 427 n. 67; Todisco (2003b) 440 n. Ap. 109; Naples, MAN, 82268, H 3233, loutrophoros with Tereus, Apatē, Procne and Philomela; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 500–1 n. 62; Todisco (2003b) 465 n. Ap. 177; Roscino (2010) 332 n. 31; Naples, MAN, 81934, H 3255, krater with prothesis of Archemorus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 484, 496 n. 42; Todisco (2003b) 466–7 n. Ap. 179; Roscino (2010) 332 n. 31.

³⁶ Gadaleta (2003) 188, 546–7.

³⁷ Gravina in Puglia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (hereafter MAN), 177006, amphora of panathenaic type with Orestes and Electra; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 22 n. 97; Todisco (2003b) 407 n. Ap. 8. Gravina in Puglia, MAN, 177001, krater with Actaeon, Caledonian Hunt, Amazonomachy, Jason and Medea or Menelaus, Helen and Paris; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 32 n. 1; Todisco (2003b) 408–9 n. Ap. 13; Ciancio (2005) 53–4; Roscino (2010) 329 n. 14; Roscino (2011) 211–12 n. 14; Gravina in Puglia, MAN, 177005, amphora of panathenaic type with the death of Sthenoboea; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 32–3 n. 2; Todisco (2003b) 408 n. Ap. 12; Roscino (2010) 329 n. 15.

³⁸ Gadaleta (2003) 169, 548.

³⁹ B.M. F 331, amphora with Pelops and Hippodamia; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 338 n. 5; Todisco (2003b) 441 n. Ap. 113; S. Petersburg, Hermitage, B 4323, krater with Pelops and Hippodamia; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 484, 487 n. 18; Todisco (2003b) 456 n. Ap. 151.

⁴⁰ Gadaleta (2003) 545.

⁴¹ Naples, MAN, 82039, H 2562, cup with Perseus and with Pentheus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 198 n. 52; Todisco (2003b) 426 n. Ap. 74; Naples, MAN, 81392, H 3231, pelike with the theft of the Palladium; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 401 n. 29; Todisco (2003b) 431–2 n. Ap. 91.

⁴² Gadaleta (2003) 173, 544–5.

⁴³ Tarentum, MAN, krater fragment with messenger; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 535 n. 295; Green (1999) 59 n. 41; Tarentum, MAN, krater fragment with Amazonomachy. Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 535 n. 296; Roscino (2010) 336 n. 45.

⁴⁴ See Gadaleta (2010b) 255 n. 42.

- 2 vases by the Darius Painter⁴⁵ from tomb 33 in Timmari⁴⁶
- 1 vase by the Darius Painter from a tomb excavated in Altamura in 1963⁴⁷

Leaving aside, for the reasons noted above, the 2 vases showing Under-world scenes,⁴⁸ Italiot vases of certain provenience in Daunia, specifically bearing scenes of mythological narration, number just over 40.⁴⁹ Thirty-six of these can be assigned to the second half of the fourth century BC, the period considered by Giuliani. Among these, the 7 exemplars from Berlin included in Giuliani's study come from the antiquarian market; thus their provenience can be considered only hypothetically. Most of the Daunian vases were excavated in Canosa and Arpi, with some from Ascoli Satriano (*Ausculum*)⁵⁰ and Lavello (*Forentum*).⁵¹

Seventeen of the Canosa vases can be traced to specific tombs, figured as follows:

- In the Varrese tomb, 1 vase by the Lampas Group,⁵² 1 by the Varrese Painter,⁵³ 3 by the Baltimore Painter,⁵⁴ 1 by a follower of the Arpi Painter⁵⁵

⁴⁵ Matera, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (hereafter MAN), 160723, pelike fragment with Helen and Paris (?); Canosa (2007) 56–9 n. 4; Matera, MAN, 160730, krater with Amazonomachy and the Embassy to Achilles or to Meleager; Canosa (2007) 31–43 n. 1.

⁴⁶ Canosa (2007).

⁴⁷ Altamura, MAS, lid of a pyxis with Theseus and Phaedra (?). Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 493, 503 n. 73; Todisco (2003b) 462 n. Ap. 170.

⁴⁸ Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 3297, J 849, krater; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 533 n. 282; Todisco (2003b) 484 n. Ap. 222; Pulsano, Guarini Collection, krater; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1992) 274, 482 n. 22a2.

⁴⁹ In addition to the vases cited in notes 52–65, see the Apulian vases: Naples, MAN, Stg. 702, pelike; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 490 n. 24; Bari, MAP, 872, amphora; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 497 n. 44; Bari, MAP, 873, amphora; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 538–9 n. 325; Tarentum MAN, 9407, plate; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 879 n. 136; Bari, MAP, 1395, plate; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1992) 976 n. 192; Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität, S./721, F 26, oinochoe; Rückert (1997) 28–30; Lucanian vases: Bari, MAP, 1535, hydria; Trendall (1967) 45 n. 221.

⁵⁰ On Ascoli Satriano–*Ausculum*, see Paoletti (1984) 324–30.

⁵¹ On Lavello–*Forentum*, see Bottini and Ciriello (1990) 455–60.

⁵² Tarentum, MAN, 8894, plate with the death of Actaeon; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 286 n. 248; Todisco (2003b) 421 n. Ap. 56.

⁵³ See Tarentum, MAN, 8935, amphora with Niobe and Tantalus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 338 n. 13/4; Todisco (2003b) 441–2 n. Ap. 114.

⁵⁴ See Tarentum, MAN, 8885, 5111, oinochoe with Heracles and Busiris; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 873 n. 73; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1993) 546; Tarentum, MAN, 8910, 5110, oinochoe with Heracles and the mares of Diomedes; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 874 n. 78; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1992) 546; Tarentum, MAN, 8879, 5106, oinochoe with Amazonomachy; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 874 n. 79; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1992) 546.

⁵⁵ See Tarentum, MAN, 8928, plate with Andromeda and Niobe; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 926 n. 97; Giuliani (1999) 47–8; Todisco (2003b) 490–1 n. Ap. 238; Todisco (2008) 26 n. Pi 19.

- In the Darius vase tomb, 5 vases by the Darius Painter⁵⁶
- In the Monterisi Rossignoli tomb, 2 vases by the Underworld Painter⁵⁷
- In a tomb discovered in 1884, 1 vase by the Baltimore Painter and 1 by the Wind Group⁵⁸
- In the Vimini tomb, 1 vase by the Long Overfalls Painter⁵⁹
- In the Via Legnano tomb, 1 vase by the Lampas Painter⁶⁰

In Arpi, the certain findings are these:

- 1 vase by the Darius Painter⁶¹
- 6 vases by the Baltimore Painter⁶²
- 3 vases by the Arpi Painter⁶³ in the Niobid vase tomb

⁵⁶ See Naples, MAN, 81947, H 3253, krater with Amazonomachy, Persians, Bellerophon and the Chimaera; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 495 n. 38; Todisco (2003b) 468–69 n. Ap. 182; Naples, MAN, 81393, H 3254, krater with funeral games for Patroclus, Oedipus and the Sphinx; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 495 n. 39; Naples, MAN, 81952, H 3218, amphora with Europa and the bull; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 497 n. 46; Todisco (2003b) 457 n. Ap. 154; Naples, MAN, 82266, H 3225, loutrophoros with Andromeda; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 500 n. 58; Todisco (2003b) 467–8, n. Ap. 181; Naples, MAN, 81954, H 3221, amphora of panathenaic type with Jason and Medea and Amazonomachy; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 497 n. 43; Todisco (2003b) 458 n. Ap. 158.

⁵⁷ Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 3296, J 810, krater with Amazonomachy, death of Creusa and Medea; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 533 n. 283; Todisco (2003b) 482–3 n. Ap. 219; Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 3300, J 853, loutrophoros with Lyncurgus and Ambrosia; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 535 n. 297; Todisco (2003b) 483 n. Ap. 220.

⁵⁸ See Bari, MAP, 1016, oinochoe with Andromeda; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 874 n. 75; Todisco (2003b) 476 n. Ap. 204; Bari, MAP, 1014, oinochoe with Orestes and Aegisthus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 933 n. 126; Todisco (2003b) 485 n. Ap. 225.

⁵⁹ Tarentum, MAN, I. G. 150625, krater with Bellerophon and Pegasus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 11 n. 149; De Juliis (1990) 107 n. 69.

⁶⁰ Tarentum, MAN, 123646, plate with Odysseus and the suitors; Cassano (1992) 394–6 n. 57; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1992) 550.

⁶¹ See Tarentum, MAN, I. G. 132734, oinochoe with Eos on a chariot; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 502 n. 71; De Juliis (1992) 74–5, 104–5, 125 n. 124.

⁶² See Foggia, Museo Civico (hereafter MC), 132821, krater with Phoenix and Achilles; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 866 n. 25; De Juliis (1992) 50, 110 n. 103; Todisco (2003b) 475 n. Ap. 200; Foggia, MC, 132732, krater with Dionysus and Ariadne; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 866 n. 28; De Juliis (1992) 48–9 n. 102; Foggia, MC, 132724, krater with Dionysus and Ariadne; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 866 n. 29; De Juliis (1992) 42–3 n. 99; Foggia, MC, 132727, krater with Paris and Helen (?); Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 870 n. 50; De Juliis (1992) 40–1 n. 96; Todisco (2006) 251–6; Foggia, MC, 132816, krater fragment with Amazonomachy; De Juliis (1992) 52 n. 107; Foggia, MC, 132818, krater fragment with Furies; De Juliis (1992) 53 n. 110.

⁶³ See Foggia, MC, 132731, krater with death of Pelops; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 925 n. 92; De Juliis (1992) 45–7 n. 101; Todisco (2008) 21 n. C5; Foggia, MC, 132723, amphora with Amazonomachy, liberation of Hera from the throne; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 925 n. 90; De Juliis (1992) 54–8, 119–21 n. 111; Todisco (2008) 23 n. A12; Foggia, MC, 132726, hydria with massacre of the Niobids; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 925 n. 91; De Juliis (1992) 65–7 n. 118; Todisco (2008) 24 n. I13.

The findings in Ascoli Satriano and Lavello are these:

- 1 vase by the Ascoli Satriano Painter⁶⁴
- 1 vase by the Group of the Baltimore Painter⁶⁵

The 7 vases with mythological scenes in the Berlin Group include:

- 1 by the Varrese Painter⁶⁶
- 3 by the Darius Painter⁶⁷
- 1 by the Phrixos Group⁶⁸
- 2 by the Underworld Painter⁶⁹

Giuliani's hypothesis of "funeral orators" at burial ceremonies is supported in Peucetia by the vases listed above from 11 verified locations in Ruvo di Puglia and Altamura. As for Daunia, the hypothesis could be applied only to 7 of the 9 verified sites, those at Canosa and Arpi, as it would be imprudent to extend a proposal of this kind to Ascoli Satriano and Lavello, because of the burial type and the number of the vases found there.

The problem of verbal communication between Greeks and indigenous inhabitants extends to images displaying more or less convincing references to tragedy.⁷⁰ It is this connection that justifies my note in this volume dedicated to theater in Magna Graecia and Sicily. I shall therefore list here the theatrical references that have been proposed for the scenes decorating 19 of the Peucetian vases and 17 of the Daunian vases identified above.

⁶⁴ See Foggia, MC, 129341, cup with Scylla; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 720 n. 886.

⁶⁵ See Tarentum, MAN, oinochoe with Heracles and the mares of Diomedes; Russo (1990) 83–5.

⁶⁶ See Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.46, hydria with Demeter and Metanaira; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1991) 88 n. 30d; Giuliani (1995) 45–8, 132–8 n. 6.

⁶⁷ See Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.39, krater with death of Rhesus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1991) 146 n. 17a; Giuliani (1995) 31–3 n. 2; Giuliani (1996) 78–86; Todisco (2003b) 454 n. Ap. 147; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.41, krater with Ino, Phrixus, Athamas, pedagogue, Helle and Euphemia; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1991) 147 n. 41b; Giuliani (1995) 26–31 n. 1; Todisco (2003b) 459 n. Ap. 159; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.40, krater with rape of Persephone; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1991) 147 n. 17b; Giuliani (1995) 33–7, 102–8 n. 3.

⁶⁸ See Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.47, plate with apotheosis of Heracles and Nereids; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1991) 158 n. 248b; Giuliani (1995) 50, 138–42 n. 7.

⁶⁹ See Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.45, krater with Hector and Andromache and with death of Oenomaus; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1991) 161 n. 283a; Giuliani (1995) 43–5, 122–32 n. 5; Todisco (2003b) 480 n. Ap. 213; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.44, krater with Gigantomachy, Peleus and Thetis; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1991) 162 n. 283b; Giuliani (1995) 37–43, 108–18 n. 4.

⁷⁰ See general observations in Todisco (2006) 239–45.

Regarding central Apulia, the majority of scenes are found on burial objects from Ruvo:

- 1836 tomb: 3 vases. 1 by the Lycurgus Painter, 1 by the Iliupersis Painter, 1 by the Moscow Iphigenia Group⁷¹
- 1834 tomb: 3 vases. 1 by the B.M. F 308 Group, 2 by the Darius Painter⁷²
- 1832 tomb: 3 vases by the Darius Painter⁷³
- 1828 tomb: 2 vases. 1 by the Varrese Painter, 1 by the Darius Painter⁷⁴
- 1835 tombs (3 tombs, vases found in 1 or 2 of them): 2 vases. 1 by the Iliupersis Painter, 1 by the Naples 3231 Group⁷⁵
- 1/1974 tomb in Gravina in Puglia: 3 vases. 1 by the Sisyphus Painter and 2 by the Gravina Painter.⁷⁶ Following Giuliani's hypothesis, the 2 Gravina in Puglia vases are to be excluded for chronological reasons
- 24/1976 tomb, Rutigliano: 1 vase by the Berlin Dancing Girl Painter.⁷⁷ Following Giuliani's hypothesis, this vase is to be excluded for chronological reasons
- Via Bari tomb in Altamura: 1 vase by the Darius Painter⁷⁸
- 1963 tomb, Altamura: 1 vase by the Darius Painter,⁷⁹ also to be excluded, as it is the only one with a mythological scene among a sizeable group of burial objects

Concerning northern Apulia, the majority of vases come from Canosa:

- Darius vase tomb: 4 vases by the Darius Painter⁸⁰

⁷¹ See notes 33–4. Lycurgus Painter: situla, Naples, MAN, 81863, H 2910. Iliupersis Painter: krater, Naples, MAN, 82113, H 3223. Moscow Iphigenia Group: krater, Moscow, Pushkin Museum, II.Ib.504.

⁷² See notes 35–6. B.M. F 308 Group: amphora, Naples, MAN, 81944, H 1766. Darius Painter vases: loutrophoros, Naples, MAN, 82268, H 3233, krater, Naples, MAN, 81934, H 3255.

⁷³ See notes 31–2. Amphora of panathenaic type, Naples, MAN, 81942, H 1769, krater, Naples, MAN, 81667, H 3256, amphora of panathenaic type, Naples, MAN, 81953, H 3219.

⁷⁴ See notes 39–40. Varrese Painter: amphora, London, B.M. F 331. Darius Painter: krater, St. Petersburg, Hermitage, B 4323.

⁷⁵ See notes 41–2. Iliupersis Painter: cup, Naples, MAN 82039, H 2562; Naples 3231 Group: pelike, Naples, MAN, 81392, H 3231.

⁷⁶ See notes 37–8. Sisyphus Painter: amphora of panathenaic type, Gravina in Puglia, MAN, 177006. Gravina Painter vases: krater, Gravina in Puglia, MAN, 177001; amphora of panathenaic type, Gravina in Puglia, MAN, 177005.

⁷⁷ See notes 29–30. Krater, Tarentum, MAN, 140639.

⁷⁸ See notes 27–8. Loutrophoros, Altamura, MAS.

⁷⁹ See note 47, in particular Gadaleta (2003) 562–4.

⁸⁰ See note 56. Krater, Naples, MAN, 81947, H 3253; amphora, Naples, MAN, 81952, H 3218; loutrophoros, Naples, MAN, 82266, H 3225; amphora of panathenaic type, Naples, MAN, 81954, H 3221.

- Monterisi Rossignoli tomb: 2 vases by the Underworld Painter⁸¹
- Varrese tomb: 2 vases, 1 by the Lampas Group and 1 by the Varrese Painter⁸²
- 1884 tomb: 2 vases, 1 of which by the Baltimore Painter, the other by the Wind Group⁸³
- Niobid vase tomb, Arpi: 4 vases, 1 of which by the Baltimore Painter⁸⁴ and 3 from the Berlin Group, of which 2 are by the Darius Painter and 1 by the Underworld Painter⁸⁵

The tragedies that could have been explained by “funeral orators” are these:
In Ruvo di Puglia:

- 1836 tomb: *Iphigenia among the Taurians* by Euripides,⁸⁶ *Rhesus* by pseudo-Euripides⁸⁷
- 1834 tomb: *Tereus* by Sophocles,⁸⁸ *Hypsipyle* by Euripides,⁸⁹ *Oenomaus* by Euripides or *Nemea* by Aeschylus⁹⁰
- 1832 tomb: *Chrysippus* by Euripides,⁹¹ *Oenomaus* by Euripides or Sophocles,⁹² *Lycurgia* or the *Eidoni* by Aeschylus⁹³
- 1828 tomb: *Oenomaus* by Euripides or Sophocles⁹⁴
- 1835 tombs: *Spartans* by Sophocles⁹⁵ and *Bacchae* by Euripides⁹⁶

In Altamura:

- Via Bari tomb: *Creusa* by Sophocles or *Ion* by Euripides⁹⁷

In Canosa:

- Varrese tomb: *Niobe* by Aeschylus, *Andromeda* by Euripides⁹⁸

⁸¹ See note 57. Krater, Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 3296 J810; Ioutrophoros, Munich, Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 3300, J 853.

⁸² See notes 52–5. Lampas Group: plate, Tarentum, MAN, 8894. Varrese Painter: Tarentum, amphora, MAN, 8935.

⁸³ See note 58. Baltimore Painter: oinochoe, Bari, MAP, 1016. Wind Group: oinochoe, Bari, MAP, 1014.

⁸⁴ See notes 61–3. Baltimore Painter: krater, Foggia, MC, 132821.

⁸⁵ See notes 66–9. Darius Painter: krater, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.39; krater, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.41. Underworld Painter: krater, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1984.45

⁸⁶ See Todisco (2003b) 425–6, 472 n. Ap. 73, Ap. 192.

⁸⁷ See Todisco (2003b) 435–6 n. Ap. 100. ⁸⁸ See Todisco (2003b) 465 n. Ap. 177.

⁸⁹ See Todisco (2003b) 440 n. Ap. 109. ⁹⁰ See Todisco (2003b) 466–7 n. Ap. 179.

⁹¹ See Todisco (2003b) 464–5 n. Ap. 176. ⁹² See Todisco (2003b) 465–6 n. Ap. 178.

⁹³ See Todisco (2003b) 469–70 n. Ap. 184.

⁹⁴ See Todisco (2003b) 441, 456 nn. Ap. 113, Ap. 151.

⁹⁵ See Todisco (2003b) 431–3 n. Ap. 91. ⁹⁶ See Todisco (2003b) 426 n. Ap. 74.

⁹⁷ See Todisco (2003b) 462 n. Ap. 169.

⁹⁸ See Todisco (2003b) 441–2, 490–1 nn. Ap. 114, Ap. 238.

- Darius vase tomb: *Persians* attributed to Aeschylus, Phrynichus or an unknown author of the fifth or fourth century;⁹⁹ *Carii* or *Europa* by Aeschylus;¹⁰⁰ *Andromeda*¹⁰¹ and *Medea* by Euripides¹⁰²
- Monterisi Rossignoli tomb: *Medea* perhaps by Euripides, Dicaeogenus or unknown author of the fourth century, or *Jason* by Antiphon;¹⁰³ *Lycurgia* or *Eidoni* by Aeschylus¹⁰⁴
- 1884 tomb: *Andromeda* by Euripides,¹⁰⁵ *Libation Bearers* by Aeschylus¹⁰⁶
- If the vases of the Berlin Group do indeed come from a Canosa tomb: *Oenomaus* by Sophocles or Euripides,¹⁰⁷ the *Second Phrixus* by Euripides,¹⁰⁸ and *Rhesus* by pseudo-Euripides¹⁰⁹

In Arpi:

- Niobid vase tomb: *Myrmidons* by Aeschylus¹¹⁰

Together these findings are distributed between 6 certain sites in central Apulia (5 in Ruvo, 1 in Altamura) and 5 or 6 in northern Apulia (4 in Canosa, 1 in Arpi, 1 in Berlin-Canosa). It is instructive to compare this distribution with Giuliani's hypothesis about the verbal diffusion of the mythological themes.

Transmission of greek myths to native populations

Giuliani's thesis of verbal diffusion is a useful model for thinking about the means by which Greek Myth and eventually Attic Tragedy were transmitted to non-Greek areas of Apulia in the fourth century BC, because it appears unlikely that the kinds of theatrical stagings documented in Italo-Ionian colonies such as Metapontum and Tarentum could have taken place in distant indigenous centers.¹¹¹

Although the possibility exists, there remains no evidence that the theatrical scenes on the "phlyax vases" – with limited indications of provenience, which, however, pertain mainly to Tarentum – reproduce performances of

⁹⁹ See Todisco (2003b) 468–9 n. Ap. 182.

¹⁰¹ See Todisco (2003b) 467–8 n. Ap. 181.

¹⁰³ See Todisco (2003b) 482–3 n. Ap. 219.

¹⁰⁵ See Todisco (2003b) 476 n. Ap. 204.

¹⁰⁷ See Todisco (2003b) 480 n. Ap. 213.

¹⁰⁹ See Todisco (2003b) 454 n. Ap. 147.

¹¹¹ See on the theater in Magna Graecia, Todisco (2002). Contra see Taplin, this volume, 247–50.

¹⁰⁰ See Todisco (2003b) 457 n. Ap. 154.

¹⁰² See Todisco (2003b) 458 n. Ap. 158.

¹⁰⁴ See Todisco (2003b) 483 n. Ap. 220.

¹⁰⁶ See Todisco (2003b) 485 n. Ap. 225.

¹⁰⁸ See Todisco (2003b) 459 n. Ap. 159.

¹¹⁰ See Todisco (2003b) 475 n. Ap. 200.

itinerant actors touring not only colonies of the Magna Graecia but indigenous communities as well.¹¹² Furthermore we cannot neglect the fact that, in formulating his hypothesis, Giuliani undervalued significant questions regarding the linguistic aspects of verbal communication between Greeks and non-Greeks, beginning with the widely held assumption that Apulian natives interested in Hellenic culture were able to understand Greek very well.¹¹³ Verbal communication – controversial generally and still a marginal topic in Apulian studies – has to be considered, however, of central importance in relation to iconographic questions in general, and to the vases here presented in particular. Other figured vases of the same production, among which we include those “phlyax” vases mentioned above, must also be considered in this light. For example, if the local performances of the Attic comedies seen in the “phlyax” scenes were also performed in the indigenous communities, as some suppose, we must ask in which language the actors spoke in order to be understood effectively by the audience.

Before entering more deeply into the problem of verbal communication in central and northern Apulia, it is apposite to remember the following:

It is often asserted that cultural transmission, including that of language, takes place through commercial exchange (this is a topos for certain phases of the transmission of elements of Greek language). Commerce (in the term’s widest connotation) is not the specific matter of the transmission, but its medium, its vehicle, its material occasion. The real matter of exchange and acceptance of elements of foreign languages is, by definition, culture. That is, even given the variations of chance, the rapport between culture and language is dissymmetrical: commerce is presupposed by culture, but commercial relations do not imply (although commercial relations can facilitate) cultural relations. In the sequential chain “language > culture > commerce” the first relation necessarily entails the others, but the inverse sequence, “commerce > culture > language” entails merely the possibility of relations, not their inevitability. In practice, this means that we should not be surprised to find

¹¹² Elsewhere in the volume, phlyax vases are referred to as western Greek comic vases (see Dearden, this volume, 274). Green, this volume, describes the development of figurative language on western Greek comic vases. On the possibility of itinerant theater companies in Magna Graecia, see Taplin, this volume. See Dearden (1988) 35–6; Trendall (1991) 168–9; Taplin (1993a) 90–1; Dearden (1999) 229–33; Todisco (2002) 25–6; Hughes (2003) 282; Carpenter (2009) 34, with more or less explicit reference to Greek colonies and indigenous towns. Contrary views have been offered by Green (1991) 56 and Maffre (2000) 210. See also Todisco (2003b) xiii–xv, in which it is clearly stated that phlyax vases reproduce “stage performances of Attic comedies,” (p. xiii) that is, they display “a presentation of the comedies almost in the form of *sketches* or in a sequence of scenes, a practice not without precedent in Attic iconography” (p. xiv), and not, “die sogenannten Phlyakenvasen nicht auf die attische Komödie zu beziehen seien, sondern unteritalische Possen und Sketche darstellten” as is stated in Schwarzmaier’s review of my book (2009) 53.

¹¹³ See Giuliani (1995) 14–15.

various cultural effects deriving from analogous commercial relations, or diverse linguistic effects resulting from analogous commercial or cultural relations, but the presence of these effects cannot be used as an argument *ex silentio*, as happens more or less openly in some such cases. From a historical perspective, we must remember that spatial and temporal parameters are grafted into those of “culture”: each area offers the potential, from both the Italic and the Greek side, of a different type of relation peculiar to each, and within which relations may alter over time. Furthermore, each area offers the modern researcher a different degree of “historicity” in terms of the quantity and (still more problematic) quality of source material available for study. This diversity must be taken into consideration so as not to force or invent sources that are not in fact there, on one hand, and on the other so as not to juxtapose, as though comparable, data that is in fact incommensurable and heterogeneous. In balance, necessary corrective measures must be put in place even if they ultimately limit our ability to draw conclusions from the available material. “Space” signifies cultural areas, including their geophysical coefficients (presence of ports, relative climatic conditions, natural variability of the geography of the interior, etc.). There is no Italic area devoid of Greek cultural influence, whether direct or, less often, indirect, but we cannot therefore claim that Greek presence led to the assimilation of elements of Greek language. Obviously doubt will always remain as to the degree to which our perception of the ancients is conditioned by the filter of the documentation that has come down to us. The conditions of possibility (cultural influences) do not permit us to infer their realization (the transmission of linguistic elements).¹¹⁴

In other words:

a linguistic event is always a cultural fact, but the inverse is not true, in the sense that a cultural fact *may* result in a linguistic event, but not necessarily: that is, it is only a condition of possibility, perhaps even probability, but one cannot substitute the absence of linguistic data with cultural hypotheses, no matter how well-intentioned.¹¹⁵

The problem that Giuliani confronts may not therefore be resolved by connecting the Hellenic iconography typical of Italic pottery with the assumption concerning emergent groups in Daunia that, “one can certainly suppose a good knowledge of Greek, as it was the dominant language of commerce,”¹¹⁶ nor by making reference to literary sources that give

¹¹⁴ Prosdocimi (1978) 1050–1. ¹¹⁵ Prosdocimi (1978) 1050.

¹¹⁶ See Giuliani (1995) 14. On the articulation of the problem of the hegemony of Greek in southern Italy, see Lazzeroni (1972) 1–24, although Lazzeroni does not address the case of Daunia.

evidence of communication between Greeks and other Greeks, even if that communication took place in non-Greek territories.¹¹⁷

What can the written tradition, therefore, tell us about verbal communication in Daunian towns in the late fourth century BC? On the basis of the available archaeological data concerning the era preceding the last decades of the fourth century BC, consensus holds that Daunia shows less Greek or Magna Graecia influence than any other region of ancient Apulia.¹¹⁸ The Greeks considered the Daunians of the late sixth century BC to be *barbaroi* (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* vii, 3–4), and the most ancient version of the familiar myth, originating from Mimnermus, of the arrival of Diomedes in Daunia and his murder by Daunus can only be read as expressing cultural rejection.¹¹⁹ Only much later, with Timaeus and Lycophron in the Hellenistic era, can the Diomedean myth be interpreted as reflecting a willingness of the native local populations to accept Hellenic genealogy.¹²⁰ Moreover, the first evidence of writing must be assigned no earlier than the late fourth century BC, as found on silver and bronze coins minted in indigenous centers such as Teate and Arpi, following probably the Campanian weighting system, with the legends written in the usual ethnic variant of Greek characters.¹²¹ Although the inscriptions of coins minted in Arpi and Canosa in the third century BC are predominantly in Greek, those on the bronze mintings from Teate are in Oscan, clearly showing Campanian influence in their typology as well.¹²²

No concrete information about verbal communication can be derived from linguistic studies conducted in Daunian territories as a whole, as they depend on a very limited number of epigraphic texts written on various surfaces dating for the most part after the fourth century BC.¹²³ “This phenomenon serves as an indicator, not of the absence (or limited extent) of Daunian relations with the Greek world, but rather of the absence of the sociocultural conditions necessary for literacy (even within the elite

¹¹⁷ See Giuliani (1995) 155–8.

¹¹⁸ See De Juliis (1988) 75–9, 99, 101, 142–60. More recently, on the southern border between Daunia and Peucetia, see Todisco (2010a).

¹¹⁹ See Musti (1984) 93–111; (2005) 31–7. ¹²⁰ See preceding note.

¹²¹ See Stazio (1972) 39–47; Guzzetta (1982) 71–9; Stazio (1992) 553–4; Siciliano (1992) 555–6; Siciliano (1995) 73–80; Libero Mangieri (2007), but more recently see also Travaglini (2010) for a view that sets back the chronology of local coinage in Peucetia.

¹²² See Stazio (1972) 39–47; Stazio (1992) 553–4.

¹²³ See De Simone (1984) 122–6; Santoro (1992) 551–2 n. 8; De Simone and Marchesini (2002) 78–86 nn. MLM1Ar–MLM11Ar, 169–76, nn. MLM1Can, 424–5, nn. MLM1Sa–MLM3Sa, 511–20, nn. MLM1Vi–MLM7Vi.

classes).¹²⁴ In any case, most of the Daunian epigraphs are “Messapic” or “Iapigian” for all intents and purposes.¹²⁵

As for specific emerging towns in the region, only Canosa merits consideration, due to a small number of Iapigian inscriptions and a small vase datable to the last quarter of the fourth century, on the feet of which appear painted Greek letters which may have had a purely decorative function.¹²⁶ Equally problematic remains the well-known passage in Horace (*Sat.* 1, x, 27–30) which speaks of the bilingualism of Canosans.¹²⁷ Just as, “despite the premises found in the sources, Greek-Bruttian bilingualism is little supported by epigraphic evidence,”¹²⁸ the same can be said for the Canosan bilingualism asserted by Horace, who furthermore does not specify which period, which Canosans, and which languages he is referring to, although it’s recognized that he probably intended Latin and Greek.¹²⁹

The only tomb for which we might hypothesize an inscription not exclusively in Greek characters (“a cultural event but not yet a linguistic one”)¹³⁰ seems to be that of the Hoplite of Canosa (fourth–third century BC).¹³¹ Only two other tombs in Daunia (the Monte Palumbo tomb in Canosa, now destroyed,¹³² and the Medusa tomb in Arpi, of the early third century)¹³³ have turned up inscriptions in Iapigian, which proudly declare the ethnic identity of the deceased,¹³⁴ similar to a monumental tomb in Egnazia of c. 300–250 BC.¹³⁵

In our view, a wide variety of other sources have varying degrees of value for our present purposes. These sources include:

¹²⁴ See De Simone (1984) 122.

¹²⁵ See De Simone and Marchesini (2002) 1, who state, “It must be made clear that the term ‘Messapic’ used here in accordance with tradition is really for the most part a conventional usage and it must be understood in relation to the Pre-Roman epigraphic documentation of the Second Augustan Region *Apulia et Calabria*, even though in historical geography we know that it is limited to the Salento peninsula, south of a geographical line drawn between Tarentum and Brindisi. It is possible (and historically plausible) to imagine in this area a relative linguistic unity (“Iapigian”) with some degree of dialectal differentiation.”

¹²⁶ See Ferrandini Troisi (1997) 375–8; Ghinatti (2004–5) 33 n. 3.10.

¹²⁷ On the Canosan inscriptions, see Santoro (1992) 550–2. See also, however, De Simone (1984) 122–6, and more recently De Simone and Marchesini (2002) 169–76 nn. MLM1Can–MLM7Can.

¹²⁸ Prosdocimi (1978) 1063. ¹²⁹ Prosdocimi (1978) 1040–1.

¹³⁰ Prosdocimi (1978) 1059, speaking of an inscription in Serra di Vaglio and “cultural hellenization” of the Lucanians.

¹³¹ See Labellarte (1992) 192–6; Santoro (1992) 552 n. 9. ¹³² See Santoro (1992) 551 n. 4.

¹³³ See Mazzei and Colivicchi (1995); Poetto (2006) 445–55.

¹³⁴ On the complexity of ethnic identity in ancient Apulia, see recently Herring (2000) 45–77; Lomas (2000) 79–90.

¹³⁵ See L’Arab (1994) 311–37; De Simone and Marchesini (2002) 213–15; n. MLM7Gn.

- the *proxenia* conferred on the Canosan *Buzos* of *Orteira* at Delos with a decree datable between 241 and 232¹³⁶
- the *proxenia* conferred on the Canosan *Blattos* of *Maturos* at Delphi between 195 and 194¹³⁷
- the *proxenia* conferred on *Seleios Tagullios* of Arpi at Delphi between 191 and 190¹³⁸
- the dedication to Apollo and Asclepius in Greek offered by the Canosan *Dazos* of *Dazos* on a votive altar at Epidauros in the second century¹³⁹
- the imported amphoras from Rhodes, Cnidus, Corinth and Corcyra found in tombs at Canosa, Arpi and Ascoli Satriano datable between the third and second centuries¹⁴⁰
- the precious objects of Hellenic importation, such as Alexandrian glassware and gold found in Canosan tombs, datable to the third century¹⁴¹

All these sources pertain to a later era after events that may have influenced the language in indigenous society, such as the passage through Daunia of the army of Alexander the Molossian, who is believed to have conquered Sipontum between 334 and 332,¹⁴² and above all the widening of commercial horizons resulting from the progressive assimilation of the Daunian ruling class into the Roman sphere of influence.¹⁴³ Significant acquisition of Greek in the major Daunian centers may be hypothesized from the beginning of the 330s BC, when Hellenic cultural and ideological propaganda during the conflict between Tarentum and the Samnites may have powerfully influenced the strategy of Epirote conquest in Daunian territories as well.¹⁴⁴ These are the years to which we can assign more accurately the construction of the Monterisi Rossignoli and Darius vase tombs in Canosa.¹⁴⁵ The Varrese Tomb must have been expanded only a few years after that,¹⁴⁶ while the tomb of the Niobid vase in Arpi was built later, around 300 BC.¹⁴⁷

Neither does the linguistic data from Peucetia confirm Giuliani's hypothesis, as it is drawn from only a few analyses of epigraphs and numismatic

¹³⁶ See Chelotti *et al.* (1985) 258–9 Ap. 1, 1; Silvestrini (1990) 259.

¹³⁷ See Chelotti *et al.* (1985) 259–60 Ap. 1, 2. ¹³⁸ See Syll., 3, 585.65; Grelle (1993) 79.

¹³⁹ See Chelotti *et al.* (1985) 260 Ap. 1, 3. ¹⁴⁰ See Silvestrini (1990) 259.

¹⁴¹ See Ciancio (1980) 31–51.

¹⁴² The question of whether Livy's reference was rather to Metapontum than to Sipontum, as has been suspected, has been taken up again recently: see Grelle (1995) 55; Frisone (2004) 486–7.

¹⁴³ See Ciancio (1980) 50–1; Lippolis (1984) 211–42. Also important are the observations of Zevi (2004) 829–32, on the alliance between Alexander the Molossian and the Romans, which would have been favored by the idea that they shared Trojan origins.

¹⁴⁴ See most recently Frisone (2004) 484–93; Zevi (2004) 820–32.

¹⁴⁵ See Gadaleta (2003) 181–3, 193–6, 557–60.

¹⁴⁶ See Gadaleta (2003) 175–8, 196–9, 549–57. ¹⁴⁷ See De Juliis (1992) 125–6.

legends of doubtful chronology.¹⁴⁸ The available sources in both local Iapigian¹⁴⁹ and Greek¹⁵⁰ are very few in number, a fact that can be explained not only by widespread illiteracy but also by a conservative resistance to any Greek influence beyond strictly material culture.¹⁵¹ This resistance is apparently linked to the exclusive use of Iapigian language in Peucetian funerary practice, indicating the limits of the dominant indigenous classes' willingness to assimilate the elements of Hellenic culture found on the tomb objects.¹⁵²

Quite important in this regard are two inscribed vases, one found at Altamura,¹⁵³ the other at Gravina in Puglia, and both in private collections.¹⁵⁴ The first is a small black lacquer bowl whose attributed colonial or Metapontine origin I consider doubtful,¹⁵⁵ which has been dated from end of the fifth to the third centuries.¹⁵⁶ Inside the bowl before firing was inscribed an incomplete Greek alphabet and the four letters ΝΟΜΟ, while on the outside are inscribed the letters :ΑΧ:ΟΜ:ΚΘ:. Everyone who has attempted to read the inscription has commented on the difficulty of deciphering it. Another alphabet was written on the second vase, this one more certainly an indigenous product which has been dated between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century, but the dating could be reassigned to a much later period if the decoration was added after firing, which appears to be the case. With a globe shape unusual for indigenous production (perhaps for a lady's *toilette*?), the little vase is decorated with laurel and budded olive branches on a black lacquer background. The lower part contains an epigraph written on three lines (*SEG* 54: 955, 3):

Μόρκος: ἑποίει Πύλλος: ἐδίδασκε Μόρκος
Πύλλος α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν
Μόρκος ἔθηκε Γναῖραι.

It has already been observed that both the two masculine names and the feminine one to whom the epigraph is dedicated are Italic and that the alphabet demonstrates that the adult, Morkos, who dedicated the vase to

¹⁴⁸ See recently Libero Mangieri (2007) especially 46–7.

¹⁴⁹ See De Simone and Marchesini (2002) 41 n. MLM1Ad, 87–9, nn. MLM1Az–MLM2Az, nn. MLM1GC–MLM1GC, 334–5 n. MLM1Mo, 406–23 nn. MLM1Ruv–MLM20Ruv, 432–5 nn. MLM1Si–MLM5Si, and more recently Todisco (2010b 271–7), with earlier bibliography.

¹⁵⁰ See Ferrandini Troisi (1992); (2010) 131–9.

¹⁵¹ Santoro (1978) 226–330; Todisco (2010b) 271–7.

¹⁵² See Todisco (2010b) 271–7 and, on the forms of expression of ethnic identity among the Iapigians, see Herring (2000) 45–77; Lomas (2000) 79–90.

¹⁵³ See Palmentola (1996) 37–46. ¹⁵⁴ See Santoro (1978) 226–73.

¹⁵⁵ See Palmentola (1996) 40–1. ¹⁵⁶ See Palmentola (1996) 37–46; Ghinatti (2004–5) 19–21.

Gnaiva, has learned to write thanks to the teaching of Pyllos.¹⁵⁷ Applying this exceptional evidence on the Gravina in Puglia vase of an alphabet written by an Apulian native, we may also try to make sense of the letters NΘMO and :AX:OM:KΘ:, and the alphabet inscribed on the Altamura vase. Rather than referring to Greek language, this collection of Greek letters may rather refer to the Iapigian language and to a Peucetian hand, considering especially the notable diffusion of similar groups of letters, still in large part undeciphered (also abbreviations of names?), found on vases and particularly on small pyramids of undoubted indigenous origin.¹⁵⁸ The internal punctuation marks of two vertical dots present on both vases would be exceptional if they were produced by a Magna Graecia hand,¹⁵⁹ but would not be out of the ordinary if the Altamura vase were, like the Gravina in Puglia vase, produced by a non-Greek.¹⁶⁰ The dedication to Gnaiva on the Gravina in Puglia vase, with its uncertain alphabet, gives in any case the impression that the learning of basic Greek by indigenous people must have been quite rare and a source of pride, especially for individuals who did not necessarily belong to the aristocratic classes, such as, perhaps, the possessor of the Altamura vase.

Given the evidence offered by these two vases (together with that of the previously mentioned Canosa vase, which may well have been of indigenous production)¹⁶¹ that the Greek alphabet was taught in Peucetia, and considering the hypothesis that the Greek letters were not used only for inscriptions in Peucetian (which adopted the Greek alphabet),¹⁶² we cannot exclude the existence of bilingual individuals in indigenous societies of the fourth century.¹⁶³

In any case, to convince us that the oral transmission of such often complex myths took place in Greek as part of funerary ritual in the late fourth century, it would have been necessary for Giuliani to provide documentary

¹⁵⁷ See De Hoz (2003) 418.

¹⁵⁸ See De Simone and Marchesini (2002) 41, MLM1Ad, 43–4, MLM3Al, 195, MLM8Cav, 207, MLM1GC, 221, MLM19Gn, 233, MLM32Gn, 235–6, MLM35Gn, 253, MLM6Lup, MLM7Lup, 255, MLM10Lup, 263–4, MLM23Lup, 265–6, MLM26Lup, 270, MLM32Lup, 271–2, MLM34Lup, 276, MLM40Lup, 277, MLM41Lup, 292, MLM7Man, 307, MLM12Me, 309, MLM14Me, 311–12, MLM16Me, 314, MLM19Me, 321, MLM28Me, 322, MLM29Me, 352–3, MLM9Os, 361, MLM2Ro, 395, MLM26Rud, 400–1, MLM31Rud, 402, MLM32Rud, 406, MLM1Ruv, 409, MLM5Ruv, 411–12, MLM7Ruv, 421, MLM18Ruv, 432, MLM1Si, 432–3, MLM2Si, 433–4, MLM3Si, 459, MLM26Ur, 460, MLM27Ur.

¹⁵⁹ See Ferrandini Troisi (2010) 131–9.

¹⁶⁰ De Simone and Marchesini (2002) 28, do not clarify in the sample of artifacts they consider the question of the use of the two vertical dots.

¹⁶¹ See note 126. ¹⁶² See De Simone and Marchesini (2002) 5–18.

¹⁶³ On bilingualism in southern Italy, see Adams (2003) 148–50.

evidence first of all demonstrating that a significant number of Peucetian and Daunian families knew Greek well enough to prefer it and to understand a fair part of what was being explained to them. After all, the scholar has particularly stressed the extreme complexity of some of the vase iconography, which would have required pronounced explicatory skills on the part of the speaker and a high level of attention on the part of listeners, “belonging to a non-Greek and furthermore illiterate culture.”¹⁶⁴

Within the time period discussed by Giuliani, for which we have no proof of spoken or written proficiency in Greek even among the elites of Peucetia and of Daunian, we might propose another hypothesis: during funeral ritual, verbal communication took place in the local idiom.¹⁶⁵ According to this proposal, we would have to accept that the so-called “funeral orators” were Greeks capable of explicating the themes of the vase imagery in the local language.¹⁶⁶ Or we may assert that there were other intermediaries in these communications, that is, non-Greek expert translators, a type whose existence is documented elsewhere, but in contexts that cannot be compared with Peucetia and Daunian in the fourth century BC.¹⁶⁷ Even for this alternative, epigraphic evidence does not offer very much support, considering for example that we have no proof of, “Greeks who write in Oscan.”¹⁶⁸ Nor does support come from celebrated cases of multilingualism such as that of Quintus Ennius, who was said to speak Greek, Oscan, and Latin (Gell. *NA*, xvii, 17.1).¹⁶⁹ Ennius belongs to a different chronological period (third–second century) and was from *Rudiae* in Messapia.

Given the current state of our knowledge of verbal communication as I have sketched it out here, conjectures about a complex organization of services involving ceramicists, scholars and funeral orators working side by side in Tarentum to market Italiot vases in Peucetia and Daunian appear decidedly unrealistic. Neither the parallels drawn with the associations of Dionysian *Technitai* of the Hellenistic era, nor the funerary practices in Tarentum support these conjectures.¹⁷⁰ On the basis of the considerations expressed here,¹⁷¹ merely because of the longstanding presence of elements of Hellenic cultural patrimony in objects of material culture, we cannot suppose the Peucetian and Daunian elites of the second half of the fourth century would have achieved a degree of knowledge and language sufficient to understand on their own the contents of the scenes displayed on their funerary vases, nor to grasp their possible theatrical references and symbolic

¹⁶⁴ See Giuliani (1995) 155. ¹⁶⁵ See Todisco (2008) 65, for a brief reference to this problem.

¹⁶⁶ Examples in Canfora (1996) 640. ¹⁶⁷ See Canfora (1996) 657–9; Miller (1997) 130–7.

¹⁶⁸ See also Lazzeroni (1972) 3. ¹⁶⁹ See Prosdocimi (1978) 1036–7.

¹⁷⁰ See notes 16, 22. ¹⁷¹ See in particular pp. 262–9.

messages.¹⁷² It is indeed more likely, as Giuliani asserted, that purchasers required an explanation to understand the stories and symbolic messages contained in the images. These explanations may have been provided by the ceramic artisans themselves, or in some cases by commercial middlemen in the workshops scattered throughout the colonies.¹⁷³ Still more can be said. It has been held as authoritative for some time that in the second half of the fourth century important Apulian ceramic painters were active not only in colonies of Magna Graecia but in indigenous centers as well.¹⁷⁴ This is the case, for example, of the Patera Painter in Ruvo di Puglia,¹⁷⁵ the Lampas, Darius, Baltimore and White Saccos Painters in Canosa,¹⁷⁶ and the Arpi Painter in Canosa or Arpi,¹⁷⁷ that is, for the indigenous centers of provenience of the few vases considered in this chapter. These painters, whose high degree of cultural sophistication is not in doubt, and their collaborators and assistants may have been able to achieve in their businesses a degree of bilingualism adapted to the demands for self-display of the indigenous aristocracy,¹⁷⁸ thereby facilitating the great success of their luxury products.¹⁷⁹ Both the Ascoli Satriano Painter¹⁸⁰ and the painters of Daunia of the late fourth century who initiated the mixed technique (red-figure and tempera) and polychrome tempera should be considered local artisans in this sense.¹⁸¹

In conclusion, evidence available today suggests that it was first of all the painters of the mythological, and possibly theatrical, scenes themselves who explained, either directly to their purchasers or to those who conveyed the

¹⁷² See recently Taplin (2007a) 21–1. Also not to be neglected, Havelock (1963) 16 on Plato's *Republic*: "But the striking thing is his constant refusal to draw a formal distinction between epic and tragedy as different genres, or between Homer and Hesiod on the one hand (for Hesiod is also mentioned) and the tragic poets on the other."

¹⁷³ See the alternative of funeral orators or painters in communication with vase purchasers proposed earlier by Giuliani himself, Giuliani (1999) 51.

¹⁷⁴ For references to workshops of red-figure Apulian pottery outside the colonies of Magna Graecia, see Patroni (1897–8) 37–9; Furtwängler and Reichhold (1904, 1909) I, 300; II, 139, 201–2; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 184; Robinson (1990) 179–93; Giuliani (1995) 15; Lippolis (1996) 378; Todisco (2008) 11, 15–16, more recently Carpenter (2009) 30.

¹⁷⁵ See Trendall (1989) 94.

¹⁷⁶ See Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 283; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 450–1, 483–4, 718, 860; Trendall (1989) 94, 97; Todisco (2008) 11, 65, with earlier bibliography.

¹⁷⁷ See Trendall and Cambitoglou (1978) 184; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 922–3; Mazzei (1984) 37; De Juliis (1992) 117, and most recently, Todisco (2008) 15, with earlier bibliography.

¹⁷⁸ See Todisco (2008) 65, on the high degree of cultural sophistication of the painters, see especially Giuliani (1995) 15–20; Schmidt (2005) 201–6.

¹⁷⁹ On the high cost of the vases, see Giuliani (1995) 13, 159 n. 5; (1999) 51.

¹⁸⁰ See Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 718.

¹⁸¹ Trendall and Cambitoglou (1982) 958, 990–1; Trendall and Cambitoglou (1992) 375.

vases to the purchasers, in a simple, synthetic manner, or in certain cases in greater detail, the narrative content, religious message, and celebratory, consolatory symbolism of the vase images. They would have further explained the relationship of the images to the funerary purpose to which the vases were to be put. For these types of communication, there would have been no need for “orators,” since the vases with their scenes had already been selected. These practices might have been similar to what we know of the Athenian Potters’ Quarter passed down to us by literary, archaeological and iconographic evidence,¹⁸² and probably the Metapontine Potters’ Quarter, known from archaeology.¹⁸³

¹⁸² See Scheibler (2004) 122–37.

¹⁸³ See D’Andria (1975) 355–452; Osanna (1996) 45–50; Cracolici (2001) 103–14.

13 | Whose line is it anyway? West Greek comedy in its context

CHRIS DEARDEN

Histories of Greek drama are characteristically Athenocentric. Given the weight of evidence for drama that derives from Athens and the undoubted pre-eminence of its tragic playwrights in the fifth century BC, this is hardly surprising. But such a focus can easily distort our view of Greek drama in general and its significance in other parts of the world, especially the Greek West, where its popularity in the fourth century was enormous. It is interesting to note how easily Alexis of Thurii, for example, becomes an 'Athenian' playwright by virtue of his domicile there. Yet it is hard to believe that the people of Thurii, at least, did not regard him as a local boy made good and see him as theirs.

We need to make the attempt to escape the 'Athenian view' and to consider drama, or more particularly comedy, from the viewpoint of the Greeks of the west, in so far as this is possible, and look at what the theatrical experience of the region was like in its own terms.¹

This is all the more important since there has recently been a shift in perspective concerning the so-called 'phlyax' vases. The view of the performances that are depicted on these has swung markedly in recent years. Originally viewed (on not a great deal of evidence, it has to be said) as farcical burlesques of tragedies, gods and heroes, or bawdy low-comedy scenes of everyday life,² now one commentator states 'they demonstrably depict plays imported from Athens over a period of the late fifth century through to about 330 BC when their depictions seem to have gone out of fashion'.³ Webster had earlier made that connection with Athens, arguing that some of the scenes were direct reflections of Attic comedies⁴ and the argument

¹ I shall concentrate on comedy: the excellent book by Taplin (2007a) more than adequately considers the question of tragedy and its links with the west and argues persuasively for the interaction between the two. Todisco, in this volume, discusses the complex problems of the non-Greek-speaking peoples of the west and their response to vases with apparent scenes of tragedy. On comedy, Taplin (1993a).

² See for example *PhV* 9; more recently, Ashby (1999) 74–5.

³ Green (2007a) 163–83, esp. 175. Green, in this volume, provides a comprehensive view of the development of a figurative language in the comic vases of Magna Graecia.

⁴ Webster (1948) 15–27.

was strongly reinforced by the discovery of the Würzburg krater identified as a scene recalling a performance of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*.⁵

It is not clear whether Green's comments, quoted above, are meant to indicate that all of the South Italian vase depictions of 'phlyax' comedy were derived from Attic Comedy, though understandably the hunt is now on to find more such possible links in fragmentary comedies and further canonise the scenes as exported comedy. There have been some successes here too. Green himself argues plausibly that a vase recently discovered in a cemetery in Messina depicting a slave dressed up as a girl, is reminiscent of the plot of Plautus' *Casina*, itself derived from Diphilus' *Allotment* of the same date, and a likely inspiration for the painting.⁶

Others have been a little more cautious in seeking to find Attic origins for the plays; Austin and Olson (2004), for example, say 'one important implication of the Csapo–Taplin thesis on the Telephus vase⁷ (which has generally been accepted) is that Athenian Old Comedies were at least *occasionally* revived in Magna Graecia in the first half of the 4th century' (my emphasis). But Olson now argues that 'the plays performed in Syracuse and elsewhere in this period (c. fourth century) were imports from Athens (even if never staged there).'⁸ So the view taken of these 'phlyax' plays has completely reversed: once seen as bawdy burlesque they have transformed into quality Attic Comedy in a generation. The question is whether the pendulum has swung too far allowing our Athenocentric bias to mislead once more. Is it likely that the only comedy that appears on the 'phlyax' vases is Attic in origin, with the presumed implication that Attic Comedy so dominated in the area that the depiction of any local comedy writing was unlikely to appeal to the purchasers of vases?⁹

First however, one issue needs to be laid to rest. There have been a growing number of scholars rightly questioning the description of vases displaying comic scenes from Magna Graecia and Sicily as 'phlyax'.¹⁰ The description arose from coalescing Pollux' (ix 149) reference to performers in a type of rustic comedy and Athenaeus' (xiv 621f.) record of Sosibius' claim that the term 'phlyakes' was the South Italian equivalent of what 'volunteers' performed in Sparta. Further suggestions of 'phlyax' being associated with 'talking nonsense' or 'swelling' were then used to connect the terms with

⁵ Kossatz-Deissmann (1980) 281–90, and table 60, 1–2; Csapo (1986) 379–92; Taplin (1993a) 11.4; Austin and Olson (2004) lxxv.

⁶ Green (2007a) 178; Handley (1997) 194–6. ⁷ See note 5. ⁸ Olson (2007) 15.

⁹ Todisco, in this volume, deals interestingly with the other end of this problem, how far non-Greek-speaking populations could understand the language of the vases (in his case, mainly tragic vases).

¹⁰ Most recently Walsh (2009) 74–5.

the padded actors on the South Italian comic vases. The clear parodies of tragedy on some of those vases were then further linked to the Syracusan poet Rhinthon, whose epitaph claimed for him the prize in writing 'tragic phlyakes' (though nobody could identify what that meant). But the essential element was the simple, rustic comedy, probably improvised and certainly buffoonish.¹¹ But what the so-called 'phlyax' vases portray are performances over a period of some seventy years with a consistency of presentation and mask type which, even without the now clear links to Attic Comedy, argued for a continuity and sophistication that was far from Pollux' and Athenaeus' improvised and buffoonish performances. The identification of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* on a 'phlyax' vase, and the indistinguishability of its depiction from a large number of other scenes on 'phlyax' was further indication that the initial link to 'phlyax' was misplaced. The time has come to reject the misidentification (and the assumptions that accompanied it) and to refer to the vases as west Greek comic vases,¹² as is done throughout this book. The one element of the 'informal' status that may remain is that the vases sometimes depict ad hoc stages suggesting that some of the illustrations may be of performances by travelling actors.¹³

So are all the illustrations derived from Attic Comedy? To try to answer that, we need to look at the earlier history of drama in western Greece. From a west Greek perspective, the city that features most prominently in the evidence for the fifth century is Syracuse. The city, founded in the eighth century BC by Corinth, was ruled in the fifth by tyrants, first Gelon and then his brother Hieron from 478–467 BC. The prosperity of the state and the wealth of its citizens were greatly enhanced by the tyrants and then further strengthened and extended in the island by the democratic rule that followed. The democracy lasted some sixty years, before succumbing to a new tyranny in 405 BC under Dionysius I followed by Dionysius II, the latter replaced by Timoleon, sent from Corinth in 344 BC.

These early tyrants, especially Hieron, valued the arts and encouraged them, though whether from political or personal motives, is not clear. But he invited the most prominent poets of the era to his court – Aeschylus, Pindar, Simonides and Bacchylides – which must have had a profound effect in establishing an artistic milieu around that court and into aristocratic

¹¹ Heydemann (1886) 260–313; *PhV* and bibliography.

¹² And to hope for a new catalogue of the vases. *PhV* is now well out of date: *MOMC3* reworked a little of the material, and it was added to by Green (1989 and 1995b) but much new material has become available since then.

¹³ See for example Apulian red-figure, calyx-krater, Bari, Malaguzzi-Valeri coll. No. 52, *RVAp* 400, 15/28, pl. 140; Taplin (1993a) 14.11 where the stage seems to have been constructed round the tree.

society, creating a real sense of cultural pride and identity. In that circle also, and already well established, was a local poet of comedy to be proud of, the playwright Epicharmus, a representative of the wit and love of punning widely commented on as a long-standing characteristic of Sicilian life.¹⁴ The details of Epicharmus' influence we shall return to in a moment.

The visit of Aeschylus in 476 BC and the tragedy he wrote to celebrate the founding of the city of Aetna must certainly have raised the profile of the genre. What we cannot know is whether the invitation by the tyrant was intended to create an interest in tragedy parallel to that of the existing comedy, or whether Aeschylus was seen as bringing an increased level of sophistication and novelty to an already existing genre. Clearly his willingness to participate was mutually rewarding since in 472 his *Persae* was also performed in Syracuse and subsequently Aeschylus made Sicily his home and died in Gela in 456/5.¹⁵ The popularity of the tragic poet, even after his death, is described in the *Life* in the words 'all those who devoted their lives to tragedy used to visit his tomb monument to pay homage, and to perform his plays'.¹⁶ Wilson notes that this might imply formal hero worship of him very soon after his death. It implies also that Gela was claiming him as her own even though there was no mention of his career in tragedy on his tombstone.¹⁷

The much-discussed lead tablet, probably from Gela and contemporaneous with Aeschylus' time in the town, containing on one side, a financial document and on the other a curse on *choregoi*, adds a further strand of evidence for theatrical activity in the area and more widely.¹⁸ As Wilson notes in discussing the tablet, neither Aeschylus nor Pindar 'is likely to have been attracted to Gela if its city had no structure of poetic competitions; indeed, no one should be blamed for musing on the possibility that illustrious poets such as these wrote the words for the performances mentioned here'.¹⁹ The curse tablet, with its emphasis on Eunikos' success as a *choregos* over all other *choregoi* in the contests, argues very strongly for dramatic competitions of some kind in Gela at this time, and indeed, further afield, since the penultimate line (line 13) seeks his success 'always, everywhere'

¹⁴ Pl. *Grg.* 493a and Cic. *Verr.* iv 95, both presumably from personal experience. See further, Willi and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén in this volume.

¹⁵ For more detail and further discussion on Aeschylus' visit, see Bosher in this volume. She argues for 476 as the date of the performance of the *Persae* in Syracuse.

¹⁶ *TrGF* III test. A, ll.46–7 (p. 35), Taplin (2007a) 6.

¹⁷ Wilson (2007b) 365–7. One wonders whether this might have been because his tragic career was too closely linked with Athens and might therefore be to the detriment of Gela, whereas fighting against the Persians could be given the wider perspective of saving Greece as a whole.

¹⁸ Jordan (2007) 335–50; Wilson (2007b) 351–77. ¹⁹ Wilson (2007b) 344.

raising the strong possibility of similar competitions elsewhere.²⁰ The addition of ‘sons and fathers’ in the list of those cursed also raises the likelihood of performance as part of a family tradition, past and future.

If we are cautious, the tablet is not direct evidence for the performance of tragedy and comedy, but it does suggest a much wider choregic performance context than we otherwise have evidence for in the second quarter of the fifth century in Sicily.

When Aeschylus visited Syracuse in 476 BC, Epicharmus already had a career in Syracuse commensurate with that of Aeschylus in Athens. His claim to be ‘Father of Comedy,’ while perhaps less readily accepted in Athens, is hardly likely to have been disputed locally given the mana it conferred on Syracuse. Further his considerable comic output, fifty-two plays according to the Suda, reduced to thirty-five or thirty-six by others, but with forty-seven titles extant,²¹ and his reputation for originality in writing ‘plots’ (*mythoi*) imply a well-developed theatrical scene in the city, a clear mechanism for the production of comedy and an appreciative audience for it. Even if the lower number of plays is considered more reliable, his output is comparable to that of Aristophanes’ thirty-three titles, and considerably more than the nineteen known for Eupolis. We should note also that Epicharmus seems to have reacted to Aeschylus’ presence mocking the latter’s use of a verb in fr. 221 and, arguably, parodying the tragic poet in his own play, *Persae*.²²

The claim to be ‘Father of Comedy’ has been much disputed, despite its being supported by fifth-century tradition and presumably accepted then as authentic. Olson’s explanation of it is to draw on a distinction between a non-choral comedy (hence Aristotle’s emphasis on plot/*mythos*) as the potent element of Epicharmus’ contribution to the development of comedy compared with the Attic form of plot plus choral element, possibly derived from padded dancers.²³ The argument is elegant and persuasive and would have been all the more compelling to Aristotle given the contemporary developments in New Comedy where the choral element was less central.

²⁰ Though it may be only a generic term appropriate to the curse. For the meaning of *choregos* see Wilson (2007b) 360–1.

²¹ Olson (2007) 6–12, Epich. p. 8–16 for the testimonia. References to Epicharmus are to the Kassel and Austin (PCG) edition. Willi, in this volume, characterises comedy in Syracuse in the early fifth century as the dominant community genre. For more on Epicharmus, see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén in this volume.

²² Epich. 71 PCG.

²³ Olson (2007) 7 and 12. No clearly choral fragments survive even in the longest fragment from the play *Pyrrha and Prometheus*, Epich. 113. There are plural titles which have been claimed as evidence for choruses but they are not, of themselves, compelling evidence. Wilson (2007b) 362–3 disagrees, citing the plural titles and the presence of a trapezoidal orchestra in the theatre at Syracuse as evidence for Epicharmean choruses.

On his chronology, the general view (and Olson is happy to accept it) is that if Epicharmus' career began in the later years of the sixth century but that he was at the height of his powers in the 480s, Aristotle's remark is justified. He is less happy with the view that Epicharmus 'invented' comedy, arguing that comedies were most likely to have been performed in unofficial settings in Athens for many years before the archon made a place for the genre in the programme for the City Dionysia in the mid 480s. But he admits that there is every reason to suppose written texts of comedy, and possibly of mime, were first produced around 500 BC in Syracuse, well before the official recognition of comedy in Athens, and that would surely have been sufficient for Aristotle's argument. In Syracuse, and no doubt more widely among the western Greeks, that proud propaganda of their precedence in comedy would have been told and retold.²⁴

We know little about the structure, length and content of the plays themselves. The titles indicate a strong interest in epic and mythological themes (as Willi and Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén note earlier in this volume) but also in the characterisation of everyday situations.²⁵ Olson suggests that the plays were short, generally only 300–400 hundred lines long, but that seems belied by the fragments of *Pyrrha* and *Prometheus* which provide over 500 fragmentary lines without any suggestion that they constitute a full play, though some of them may be fragments of the same lines.²⁶ If Epicharmus had competitors in writing comedy in Sicily in his early days, we do not know of them.

The names of two other slightly later comic writers, together with fragments of one of them, have survived. Phormis (or Phormus) is claimed by the *Suda* to have been tutor to Gelon's children and friend of the tyrant, so may well have been a younger contemporary of Epicharmus.²⁷ If his links to the tyrant are true, he was well connected and might expect a good deal of interest for his plays in sophisticated court circles. Again we have mythological titles but lack the fragments which might elucidate them. Aristotle indicates that the comedy of Epicharmus and Phormis could be treated as

²⁴ The dating of Epicharmus is controversial: references to contemporary events in his comedy indicate he was still writing in 470/460 BC when Chionides and Magnes were writing in Athens. Aristotle's claim of Epicharmus' priority in time over them (*Poet.* 1448a 30) suggests he was probably born in the last thirty years of the sixth century: see Handley (1985) 367–70.

²⁵ The parasite (*Hope or Wealth* Epich. fr. 31–7 PCG), a figure of the contemporary world of the tyrant's court, is introduced to the stage for the first time along with the drunkard, (Athen. 10.429a) and the unsophisticated man at a symposium (Epich. 146/147 PCG). There is one surviving political reference (fr. 96 PCG) concerning Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium. See also Cassio (2002) 51–83; Olson (2007) 8–9.

²⁶ Olson (2007) 9; Epich. 113 PCG. ²⁷ Phormis PCG test. 1.

similar (*Poet.* 1449b5–9) and the Suda clearly thought that he also had some influence on the staging of comedy since it claims he was the first to use foot-length costumes and purple skins on the skene. Whatever precisely is implied by these two points, both seem to indicate that a tradition had already been formed for the presentation of comedy, which was now being modified.

Dinolochus belonged to the next generation being variously credited with being son or pupil of the master comic poet.²⁸ Though a father–son relationship is not impossible, claiming such a relationship was always an attractive proposition for ancient writers. Nevertheless, while we have no absolute dates for him it is plausible to suppose that he was continuing the tradition of comic writing down into the third quarter of the fifth century and possibly later. Again mythological titles are to the fore but his output only amounted to fourteen plays.

The people of Sicily had a proud early record in both tragedy and comedy by the middle of the fifth century and a milieu in which they were celebrated both in the tyrants' courts and under the democracy in Syracuse. It was under the latter that the theatre at Syracuse was rebuilt in 460 BC (though the impulse for it may have started earlier under the tyrants), with a trapezoidal orchestra and to a massive size by Damacopus.²⁹ Did the use of a stage also originate at this time? Many argue that there was no stage in the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens until much later, yet the west Greek comic vases seem to take a stage of some kind for granted, even on those vases which are most clearly inspired by Attic Comedy.³⁰ Is it simply a function of touring actors visiting provincial towns where there was no theatre and only a makeshift venue for their performances? Or, had this long been a feature of performances in the west that was simply continued and, eventually, became mainstream in Athens and throughout the drama-loving world as theatres were modified over time? In which case those Sicilian vases which show more substantial stages both in portraying comedy and tragedy might

²⁸ Dinolochus *PCG* test. 1; Hordern (2004) 2–3.

²⁹ Polacco and Anti (1981): for the testimonia, see pages 25–46.

³⁰ Goette (2007) 87–121; Townsend (1986) 421–38 argues that the major make-over of the theatre occurred c. 370–360, and not later, under Lycurgus; Beacham (2007) 204–5 argues for the Lycurgan reconstruction but places the appearance of a stage as such (the *proskēnion*) as a feature of late third or early second century BC. Polacco (1997) 267–79 speculates from the theatres at Epidauros, Argos and Syracuse that a major impetus for high stages also came from Dorian areas. Nevertheless, there remains to be explained the Vlastos oenochoe (Athens, BS 518, from Anavyssos, 420–415 BC) depicting Perseus dancing on a stage, watched by two seated figures – see further, Green in this volume. I have wondered whether the use of a stage derived from the non-choral comedy of Epicharmus (if such it was), in which case the Vlastos oenochoe may also depict a non-choral performance.

reflect the situation in the theatre of Syracuse from its rebuilding in the period of Timoleon (see Figure 11.1).³¹

This large investment in a theatre at the vanguard of theatrical design at this early date argues both for a ruling class anxious to demonstrate their beneficence, but also a population intended to be impressed and interested. What we lack are any details of the opportunities for and mechanics of theatrical production and presentation, apart of course, from the Aetna episode. We do have indications: Epicharmus in a tantalising fragment remarks ‘it lies on the knees of the five judges’ (fr. 237 *PCG*), which suggests a context of dramatic competition but on its own cannot bear too much weight, despite Zenobius taking it as a reference to comic contests. The curse tablet now adds a further layer of support. Judgement in dramatic contests is also the theme of Plato’s criticism in the middle years of the fourth century when he condemns the “present Italian and Sicilian practice of handing over to the mass of spectators and deciding the winner by a show of hands.”³² This seems to imply an earlier practice (not necessarily, but possibly, a west Greek one) where this was not the case. Could it be that an earlier system of festival organisation and judgement on dramatic performances was changed in the light of now democratically supported drama? By Plato’s time of course, tyranny was back in fashion but that need not have expressed itself in the desire to change the rules for dramatic competition – especially as one of the competitors was, on occasion, the tyrant himself.

By the end of the fifth century there had been a hundred years of theatrical tradition, forty years of an originally ground-breaking theatre, and arguably a long-standing tradition of dramatic contests of which the western Greeks could be proud. We have good evidence for local comic writers down to the final years of the fifth century who continued the long-standing tradition. The few tragic authors in the latter half of the century are only names to us – Empedocles from Acragas who moved to Syracuse when the Athenian expedition arrived³³ and possibly Carcinus II who worked in the

³¹ *PhV* 79 Lentini from Lentini, Manfria Group; *PhV* 95 Milan, Sicilian, Manfria Group; *PhV* 98 Gela from Manfria, Manfria group – all with crudely drawn but elaborate stages with columns on the skene front, c. 340s; cf. Taplin (2007a) 22, Sicilian calyx-krater, Syracuse, attributed to Gibil Gabib Group, poss. Capodarso Ptr. c. 330s.

³² Plato *Laws* 659a–b; Green (1994) 67. On the five judges for comedy in Sicily, Zenobius 3.64 and also Hesychius s.v. *pente kritai*.

³³ *TrGF* I, 50; Aristotle fr. 70; Wilson (2007b) 362. It is interesting that it was the choruses that were the subject of interest, possibly because the prisoners were more likely to have served as chorus members or had knowledge of the songs from having heard them excerpted at symposia.

court of Dionysius I but may have been active around the turn of the century. Presumably their plays and those of other, unknown local playwrights were being performed for west Greek audiences, together with the plays of Aeschylus: it seems that in the final years of the century, however, Euripides was a centre of interest and some frustration, in that productions of his plays were sought after but difficult to find in the west. Such is implicit in the story of the fate of those Athenian prisoners, at the collapse of the expedition to Syracuse in 413 BC, who could recite the choruses of Euripides' plays being granted freedom. Whether Plutarch's story is true or not, it was evidently considered plausible that the population of Syracuse would set free its bitterest enemies to enjoy a taste of tragedy.³⁴ One would have to assume that if they could not get their Euripides, that did not imply they were deprived of drama totally: the flourishing local theatrical tradition continued but was highlighted by the occasional Attic tragedy and possibly comedy.

Equally emphatic of the vibrant local dramatic context is the pre-eminence of Syracuse in the drama-related area of mime. Sophron's *Mimes* date probably to the last half of the fifth century presenting short comic scenes of everyday life, focusing largely on the bawdy and scatological, but also debates such as that between a fisherman and a country man over their respective ways of life. Hordern argues that they were intended for performance in the symposium rather than the theatre, noting that they generally involve an indoor setting.³⁵ The ancient, and early, tradition that Plato, acquainted with them from his time in Sicily, took a copy of the mimes to Athens,³⁶ if true, is a nice example of the continuing artistic interchange between the two cities. Mimes continued as part of the dramatic milieu in the west: early in the fourth century Xenarchus wrote in the same genre at the court of Dionysius I mocking the people of Rhegium.³⁷

If we look rather more widely amongst the western Greek cities, the earliest theatrical sites seem to have been Thurii, Tarentum and Metapontum (with its physical remains). Taplin has argued cogently that tragedy and satyr play were known in Apulia from 400 BC and arguing from an Athenian perspective and focusing mainly on tragedy, asks 'can it really be maintained with any credibility that the performances did not include fifth-century tragedy?'³⁸ He points too to a strong and sophisticated theatrical tradition in

³⁴ Plut. *Vit. Nic.* 29. 2; Σ Arist. *Rh.* 1417b18 adds, improbably, that Euripides himself helped negotiate the release. For possible Euripidean writing for an audience outside Athens see Easterling (1994) 74–80.

³⁵ Hordern (2004) esp. 1–10.

³⁶ It first appears in Duris, c. 340–260 BC, though Hordern (2004) 24 doubts it is true.

³⁷ Xenarch. test. 2 *PCG* (Phot. p. 485. 21); Diod. Sic. 13.95–6. ³⁸ Taplin (2007a) 13.

those towns – a tragic playwright of Thurii named Patrokles whom, rather more speculatively, he suggests may be mentioned by Aristophanes.³⁹ Alexis of Thurii was born in the 370s and presumably served an apprenticeship in comedy there before moving to Athens; at the end of the century Rhinthon in Tarentum made a name for himself as a writer of ‘tragic *phlyakes*’⁴⁰ and whatever that may imply precisely, his titles are nearly all Euripidean. The acting profession is also well represented from this area, with Aristodemus of Metapontum, whose career spanned the mid fourth century, though he too spent most of his life in Athens, and Archias of Thurii, who was involved in the downfall of Demosthenes in 332, both presumably cutting their teeth in their profession in the west.⁴¹ Tragedy continued to be written in the west: Carcinus II (mentioned already above) spent most of his life at the court of Dionysius I but won a victory in Athens at the Dionysia in 370.⁴² Possibly it was this that spurred the tyrant himself to chance his arm, resulting in his victory at the Lenaia in Athens in 367 BC with his *Ransoming of Hektor* and his death as a result of the celebratory party. Interesting is the tradition that he acquired the writing case and pen of Euripides, pointing again to that fervid interest in the works of the poet. Tzetzes maintains Dionysius had other plays also performed in Athens.⁴³ At his court was Antiphon,⁴⁴ whom he later put to death, who is recorded as producing plays in his own right and helping Dionysius to write his. A generation later than these, Sosiphanes, son of Sosikles, is credited with writing seventy-three tragedies in Syracuse.⁴⁵

So local tragedians were writing for local audiences, while Taplin’s compelling arguments show that Athenian tragedy was also being performed as part of the mix. Yet there is considerable reluctance to accept the same for comedy – that it is a mix of local and Athenian comedy presented to audiences appreciative of both, despite the strong fifth-century comic tradition.

From the end of the fifth century, but more especially in the period 390–350 BC, the vases with scenes of comedy make their appearance first,

³⁹ *TrGF* I, 57 fr. 2; Σ *Plutus* 84; Taplin (2007a) 10. Also relevant here are the Attic vases found in southern Italy – the Pronomos vase found in Ruvo, the fragment showing a chorus of women found in Taranto and now in Würzburg, see Taplin (2007a) figs. 10 and 12 to which might be added the Andromeda vase praising Euaion, son of Aeschylus, Trendall and Webster (1971) III.2, 1–3. On the sophistication of the audience, see Taplin (1993b) 527–39.

⁴⁰ Taplin (1993a) 48–52; Rhinthon 3.

⁴¹ On Aristodemus and Archias, Taplin (2007a) 10; Ghiron-Bistagne (1976) 315; Stephanis (1988) 95–6; Easterling (2002) 336–8.

⁴² See *TrGF* I 70. ⁴³ For the testimonia *TrGF* I 76. ⁴⁴ *TrGF* I 55.

⁴⁵ *TrGF* I 92. There is some confusion over the date of his death: *Parian Marble* records it as 313/2 BC, the *Suda* claims 336/3 or 324/1 BC.

mainly in Apulia and Lucania, later in Paestum. Taplin is forced to argue at length, but in my view correctly, for illustrations informed by tragedy as evidence for the theatrical tradition in the west, against those who reject any or little relationship between tragedy and visual art. Nevertheless he accepts that the tragic scenes are not pictures of plays nor do they 'display any sense of obligation to be faithful to the detail of the texts'.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the vase paintings of comedy go out of their way to draw attention to their theatricality by providing us with the somewhat grotesque masks, the phallic costume and, frequently also, explicitly the stage on which the performance takes place. The vases were made and decorated in the west and intended for local buyers or commissioned locally. There can be no question that many of them portray a small but fascinating segment of the comic drama that delighted the locals, though I would agree with Taplin, Green, Walsh and others that the individual relationships of the vases with an actual performance need to be discussed.⁴⁷

Some two hundred scenes with more than one figure survive. The now general view is that they display illustrations of exported Athenian comedy, and only Athenian comedy (even if never staged in Athens because in some cases we have too many titles to fit the available festival slots). Admittedly, there are few surviving records of names of comic poets in the Greek West besides Dinolochus, Alexis of Thuri and Rhinthon⁴⁸ (though the same argument applies in great part to local tragic playwrights in the fifth century) despite the demonstrably well-established and proud comic tradition in the west. One might also ask whether the sharp distinction between mime and comedy in the west is real or whether categories were more fluid in Magna Graecia than in Athens. But if it is only Attic comedy that is preserved on the vases, it must be that local comedy suffered a sudden and catastrophic decline at the end of the fifth century in the west, or was now of such limited

⁴⁶ Taplin (2007a) 22–3; Green (1991) 49–56. For the contrary argument see Small (2003); Aellen, Cambitoglou and Chamay (1986). For a similar but different viewpoint see Giuliani (1988) and (1996) 71–86.

⁴⁷ Giuliani (2001) 37 n. 39 seems to be alone in rejecting this view. Taplin and others have argued that individual cases need to be made for particular vases – he argues for example, that some vases are parody of iconography (paraiconography) rather than comedy in their own right (*PhV* 86 for example) but in general it is 'highly probable that the stimulus for both the purchasers and painters of these vases was performance of these comedies' (Taplin (1993a) 89–90). Walsh (2009) rightly discriminates between the theatrical performance which may have inspired the vases and the visual images themselves (8–9), examines his chosen vases individually, sometimes disputing Taplin's paraiconography view (102–3 for example) and sees a number of the '*phlyax* actor plus Dionysus' vases as purely Dionysiac in inspiration rather than directly performance based.

⁴⁸ Olson (2007) 15.

appeal that vase-painters, and their customers, for the next seventy years ignored it totally and relied only on imported comedy for their illustrations.

In earlier years, the reluctance to recognise Attic Comedy on the vases was presumably because Aristophanic comedy was seen as so politically focused on Athens that its acceptance elsewhere was questioned. But the Telephus vase in Würzburg, both in general illustration but especially in the detail of the bootees on the wineskin, seems inescapably Aristophanes in origin, being the parody of Euripides' *Telephus* from his *Women at the Thesmophoria*. It is gratifyingly clear evidence of the Attic playwright's work presented in west Greece. The parodies of tragedy that this play develops and expects its audience to be familiar with, or at least tolerant of, are an interesting comment on the sophistication of the west Greek audience. Austin and Olson rightly note however that this play is less concerned with city politics than the other surviving comedies and deals instead with the more universal theme of the relationship of men and women.⁴⁹ Clearly the vase purchaser and presumably the west Greek audience in Apulia appreciated what they saw and could relate to the parodies of Euripides' *Telephus*, *Palamedes* (Eur. *Thesm.* 769–771), *Helen* (Eur. *Thesm.* 850), and *Andromeda* (Eur. *Thesm.* 1012). In the case of the latter three, the source of the parodies is made clear but not in the more extended Telephus parody illustrated on the vase. We might want to suppose a near contemporaneous performance of the *Telephus* with the *Thesmophoriazusae* in Apulia around 380–370 BC but that cannot be proven.⁵⁰

The earliest of the Athenian comedy-inspired vases is the 'Goose Play' of about 400 BC painted by the Tarporley Painter and which was seemingly replayed on the stage in the 370s when a second vase-painter chose to illustrate a different moment but with sufficient similar detail to make it certain this is the same play.⁵¹ These two vases are the only ones to suggest that the performances depicted on the vases were those of complete plays rather than excerpts, since in this case we seem to have a development in the plot with the goose, alive on the earlier vase, now very dead in the later

⁴⁹ Austin and Olson (2004) xxxii.

⁵⁰ The Würzburg Telephus vase, Martin von Wagner Museum H 5697, Apulian bell-krater, c. 380–370 BC attributed to the Schiller Painter: *RVAp* 65 no. 4a; Taplin (1993a) 36–40, 11.4; Taplin (2007a) 13–15, fig. 6; Walsh (2009) 133.12 with references.

⁵¹ *PhV* 84 Apulian calyx-krater attributed to Tarporley Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.104, *RVAp* 46, 3; Taplin (2007a) 13 fig. 5; Taplin (1993a) 10.2; Apulian bell-krater, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 69. 695 (Otis Norcross Fund), *RVAp* 100, 4/251; Taplin (1993a) 11.3. There have been questions whether the two vases depict the same play because of discrepancies in the mask worn. But did different productions of the same play always use the same masks within the broad categories of Old Man, Slave etc.?

version. The apparent lines from the play, emanating from the mouths of the characters in the Tarporley Painter's version, and spoken in Attic Greek (though there is doubt about the nonsense Greek spoken by the figure on the left of the scene) virtually guarantee this as a version of an unknown Attic Comedy.⁵²

Late in date, around 330 BC, and in relief rather than painted, is a scene on a guttus now in Naples.⁵³ A single comic actor (stomach padding and phallus confirm the identity as comic) kneels on an altar in a pose that parodies the scene on vases depicting Euripides' *Telephus*.⁵⁴ He wears a *pilos* on his head, wields a sword in his right hand and, in his left, a strange ovoid implement which he grips by its edge. Identification of this 'implement' has been varied but Csapo's argument for it as a charcoal bucket (a *laskos*) is compelling. If he is right, and I think he is, the scene is clearly taken from Aristophanes' *Acharnians* where the hero Dikaiopolis (playing the role of Telephus) seizes and threatens to kill a charcoal bucket he has taken hostage.

The other identifiable Attic plays are few. The opening scene of Aristophanes' *Frogs* seems to have been depicted on a lost vase – though Aristophanes himself makes the point that the luggage-carrying scene was conventional and used by others.⁵⁵ In the Paestan fabric, a vase by Assteas depicting Phrynis and Pyronides is linked to Eupolis' *Demes* in which Solon, Miltiades, Aristides and Perikles returned to Athens from the Underworld.⁵⁶ Possible, though disputed, is the identification of the 'Birth of Helen from an Egg' vase⁵⁷ with the *Nemesis* of Cratinus. Taplin argues that the parody is one of iconography rather than stage performance, but in any case, the identification is little more than a guess based on a line instructing Leda that she must sit on the egg to allow it to hatch. A further stretch of the imagination claims *PhV* 20 as a burlesque of Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*.⁵⁸ The connection here relies on the recognition of the figures on the vase as

⁵² This is not to deny that the role of the figure labelled 'tragoidos', who may be the ugly man beneath the title, remains puzzling. A similarly labelled figure appears on *PhV* 37 (the Cheiron vase) in London, B.M. F 151.

⁵³ Naples MN Santangelo 368. For illustration and discussion see Csapo (2010a) 64; fig. 2.6. For details of earlier discussion of the piece see Csapo note 97.

⁵⁴ See Taplin (2007a), figs. 75–9 as well as the Telephus parody discussed above, note 50.

⁵⁵ Apulian red-figure, bell-krater, 375–350 BC, formerly Berlin F 3046 but lost: *PhV* 22 Taplin (1993a) 13.7.

⁵⁶ Paestan bell-krater from Pontecagnano, mid fourth century, Salerno, Museo Provinciale Pc 1812; *PhV* 58, Taplin (1993a) 16.16. For the link with Eupolis, see now Storey (2003) esp. 116–21.

⁵⁷ *PhV* 18, Apulian, red-figure bell-krater, c. 380–370 BC, *RVAp* 148, no. 96, Green (1995a) 147; Taplin (1993a) 82–3, 19.2; Walsh (2009), 35.39.

⁵⁸ Apulian red-figure bell-krater, c. 375–350 BC, Bari, Museo Nazionale 8014; *RVAp* 266, no. 45; Taplin (1993a) 43; Walsh (2009) 37.42, esp. 140–2.

Helen, Menelaus and 'Dionysus pretending to be Paris' despite the minimal evidence for any such identification. Walsh, while unimpressed by the supposed connection, nevertheless notes that the scene implies a performance as its origin, since otherwise the import of the scene is obscure.

The much-discussed Apulian krater of 380 BC depicts two characters labelled '*choregos*', a slave named Pyrrhias between them with raised right arm, and, by an open door, in tragic dress, without a phallus and carrying a spear, a figure named Aegisthus.⁵⁹ There have been multiple interpretations of this scene, but beyond a common consensus of Attic authorship of the play because of the presence of the *choregoi* (in the light of the part played by such figures in the production of drama in Athens), little further consensus on its dramatic interpretation. This identification may be less certain in the light of the Gela curse tablet and its implication of theatrical performances requiring such figures, but the use of the Attic form of the title on the tablet, as distinct from the Doric form, still leaves it as a likely contender. Later than all these, which mainly cluster in the first twenty-five years of the fourth century with the exception of the Paestan version, is the vase from Messina noted at the beginning of this chapter dated to around 330 BC.⁶⁰

There remain a number of vases which feature the names of the characters depicted which might be Attic or Doric Greek – in particular the 'Milan cake-eaters' vase, by the Choregos Painter also⁶¹ – but none of them is conclusively Attic or Doric in dialect.

In short and being generous, we possess some nine or so vases out of approximately two hundred which can be plausibly attributed to Old Comedy, one that may link with New Comedy and a handful more where names are ambiguous. Admittedly what survives of Old Comedy is a tiny percentage of what was presented and we have little idea of the content of many of the plays for which we possess titles. We would be fortunate indeed if we could securely link any of these to a particular vase-painting.⁶² Equally, we have only chance survival and chance finds of the vases that illustrate the

⁵⁹ Apulian bell-krater, c. 390 BC, attributed to Choregos Painter, Malibu 96.AE.29 Taplin (1993a) 9.1 & 55f; Taplin (2007a) 28 fig. 7.

⁶⁰ See Green (2007a) 178; Green (1995a) 144.

⁶¹ *PhV* 45, Apulian red-figure bell-krater, first quarter fourth century, Milan, Moretti collection; Taplin (1993a) 12.5. See also *PhV* 37, Apulian red-figure, bell-krater c. 380–370 BC, London, B.M. F 151, Taplin (1993a), 12.6; Walsh (2009) 21.89: *PhV* 76, Paestan red-figure calyx-krater c. 350 BC, Berlin F 3044; *PhV* 81 Apulian red-figure, calyx-krater, c. 375–350 BC, London B.M. F 269, *RVAp* 339, no. 11; Walsh (2009) 44.26: *PhV* 86 Paestan red-figure, calyx-krater, c. 350–340 BC, Rome, Villa Giulia 50279, Taplin (1993a) 81–2, 17.17; Walsh (2009) 19.15.

⁶² See for example *PhV* 20 and its hypothetical link with Cratinus' *Pytine*; Taplin (1993a) 43.

comedies. But it remains true that some 5 per cent only have indisputable links with Attic Comedy. In no way do I wish to diminish those links that we do have, but I find it hard to agree with an argument that claims *all* the comedies depicted on vases from western Greece were Attic in origin especially when there was such a flourishing local performance tradition, at least in Syracuse, and arguably in Apulia. Admittedly, it is equally difficult to 'prove' local authorship of any of the plays that might underlie the vases. It is not surprising this should be so since we have no texts in which to root flights of imagination. What are arguably relevant here are those scenes on vases which depict adaptations of myth which are otherwise unknown to us. I claim no certainty on the points argued below since myth itself is amorphous and constantly changing, while comic poets show the least restraint in inventing (and re-inventing) myth and/or adopting it to their own, often virtuoso, ends.

But to take one example from the 'Birth of Helen from the Egg' vase noted above, it is clear that the theme of the birth was much more common in South Italian vase-painting than Attic, which may suggest local, rather than Attic, authorship of the underlying comedy.⁶³ Walsh calls attention to the vase depicting an assumed Odysseus and Elpenor fighting over Circe; objections to this identification had been made because in the usual version of the story Elpenor has already been turned into a pig before Odysseus attacks the sorceress. But comic playwrights do re-invent myths for their own purposes and in this case there are a number of Etruscan mirrors which support the identification.⁶⁴ Again then we may be dealing with a local playwright.

There are a number of other vases, which I have discussed before, depicting scenes which are otherwise unknown to us from myth and may be variants created by local playwrights.⁶⁵ On *PhV* 122 Heracles, holding a love wheel and having cast aside bow and club, confronts Iolaus(?), while behind him, on crutches, stands Eurystheus (?) his temper not improved

⁶³ *PhV* 18. For the relative popularity in Attic and South Italian vase-painting see *LIMC* iv, Helen. Taplin (1993a) 82–3 disputes whether the painting is stage inspired rather than parody of iconography but I agree with Walsh (2009) 135–7 that stage inspiration is more likely. Green (1995a) 147 reads the scene as poor people making what they hope will be a rich discovery. That the figure appearing from the egg is not masked, though all the other figures are, may suggest that she/he is a silent character in the play.

⁶⁴ See Walsh (2009) 201–2 and note 97 for the Etruscan mirrors; *PhV* 57 Apulian red-figure, bell-krater, c. 375–350 BC, Ruvo, Museo Jatta 901; *RVAp* 70 no. 46; Walsh (2009) 101.79. A possible though less likely alternative identification of the figures on the vase is Odysseus and Diomedes threatening Theano.

⁶⁵ Dearden (1988) 36.

by the club dropped on his bandaged foot.⁶⁶ All wear padding and masks though in this case there is no stage depicted. A Sicilian calyx-krater shows what appears to be the floor of a stage with Zeus, a thunderbolt in one hand and stick in the other, a crown on his head, between two masked actors, one dressed as a female and playing double pipes, the other carrying a basket of cakes on his head.⁶⁷ Zeus appears again on an early Apulian krater from Tarentum on stage, sitting on a 'throne', feet drawn up, sceptre in hand, while Dionysus with thyrsus sits at a lower level and beyond him part of a figure leaning nonchalantly.⁶⁸ Heracles features on a Paestan krater, making an offering to a precariously perched Apollo who fails to see the club in Heracles' other hand below the offerings, while to the right a slave anxiously raises his hand in warning.⁶⁹

Such mythological examples could be extended – Heracles and Auge (*PhV* 79), Daedalus and Enyalios fighting in front of Hera (*PhV* 81), Heracles, Hermes and a woman (*PhV* 95), Heracles with the head of a bull (*PhV* 128) – but the point is clear that there is an array of material, seemingly stage inspired, which does not conform with received mythology and which is arguably of local content. None of these examples of course can prove that audiences of western Greece both enjoyed a play by a local author and were moved to commission a vase illustration of it, but they are strongly suggestive of theatre offerings being a mix of local and Athenian comedy.

Terracottas provide one other source of potential support for the argument. Interest in owning terracotta reproductions of comic actors seems to have spread remarkably rapidly in the early fourth century and to have encompassed much of the Mediterranean world. The New York group of terracottas, in both its red and yellow forms, were originally Athenian-made but local ones rapidly began to be made in Sicily and elsewhere.⁷⁰ That pattern is repeated in Syracuse, Tarentum, Paestum and other centres like Lipari where gradually the creation of independent types of comic figures takes place. Two further examples should not be overlooked. From Policoro, an

⁶⁶ Apulian red-figure oenochoe, c. 375–350 BC, Taranto, Museo Nazionale 56048; Walsh (2009) 68.95.

⁶⁷ *PhV* 82, Sicilian red-figure calyx-krater (forerunner to Paestan) c. 380 BC, Madrid Museo Arqueológico Nacional 11026, RVP 25, no. 6; Walsh (2009) 144.33.

⁶⁸ *PhV* 61, Apulian bell-krater fragment c. 400–375 BC, Taranto, Museo Nazionale 121613; Walsh (2009) 138.34. It has been suggested that the scene depicts Dionysus between Aeschylus and Euripides and is connected with Aristophanes' *Frogs* but the iconography seems inconsistent with this.

⁶⁹ *PhV* 32, Paestan red-figure bell-krater, c. 360–350 BC, St Petersburg, the State Hermitage Museum B 1660, RVP 49; Walsh (2009) 10.19.

⁷⁰ Green (1994) 64, Green (1994) 146. See also the connections of comic terracottas with Persephone, MacLachlan in this volume.

old man(?) and a slave holding uncertain objects are of a non-Attic type, even though their costume is standard, and may well be of local inspiration. As Green comments 'it is a reminder that we should not go overboard in claiming everything produced in South Italy as Attic'.⁷¹ A further piece in a private collection in Locri depicts a comic actor carrying an amphora and again seems to be a local product.⁷²

The appetite for theatre amongst the western Greeks from the fifth century onwards is demonstrable and long-lasting. Early in that century it involved a claim to have fathered comedy and then to have attracted Aeschylus to settle. By the late fifth century both tragedy and comedy seem well founded with festivals probably established and at least one large theatre in operation. The presence of Aeschylus earlier must have raised a desire to see the works of other Attic playwrights produced in the West and there is good evidence to show that by the turn of the century Attic Comedy and tragedy were being performed there. While the names of comic poets are lacking, with the proud exception of Alexis of Thuri, tragedies were being written by tyrants and other local authors throughout the fourth century (and exported to Athens on occasions) for the delight of local audiences. We cannot prove that what vase-painters of comic performances painted were a mixture of Attic and local plays, but it seems highly likely that local audiences did experience local playwrights as well as foreign ones, and enthusiastically sought to have their plays illustrated. That they enjoyed the performances seems certain from the liveliness of the depictions, irrespective of whose line it was.

⁷¹ Green (1995a) 152; Pianni (1990) 177 no. 230 3–4, pl. 72.2.

⁷² Barra Bagnasco (1990) 48, fig. 5; Green (1995a) 152.

14 | Comic vases in South Italy

Continuity and innovation in the development of a figurative language

J. R. GREEN

There has been some emphasis in recent scholarship on the rapidity of the spread of drama outside Athens in the later years of the fifth century and the early part of the fourth.¹ The vases decorated with comic scenes form an important part of the evidence. As is now well recognised, they depict performance in a more direct way than do those with scenes that derive from tragedy.² It is interesting that when they begin, in the last years of the fifth century, they do so in the Greek settlements of southern Italy and not, for example, in cities such as Corinth where they do not occur until a good quarter of a century later.³

This work on the spread of drama has come in parallel to a considerable effort on the part of a number of Italian scholars to trace the links between Athenian and South Italian red-figure, to demonstrate the emergence of a distinctive local style in Taranto and Metaponto, and to disentangle the complexities of the workshops involved.⁴ For the most part, however, they have concentrated on the treatment of particular mythological themes. To my knowledge no one has yet attempted to investigate continuity in the handling of comic scenes – if indeed one exists.

In order to make the comparative picture clearer, we begin with a précis of what was happening on this front in Athens.

Whatever one may reckon of the role of so-called padded dancers of the later seventh and the first half of the sixth centuries, Athenian depictions of comic choruses from the middle of the sixth century onwards have far

¹ See my overview of recent work in Green (2008) 97–9 and now Taplin's observations in this volume.

² For recent discussion of scenes deriving from tragedy, see Taplin (2007a).

³ There are in any case not many Corinthian examples. I know of three bell-kraters (two of them in small fragments), a fragment of a stemless cup, and a fragment of a small closed vessel: Athens 5815, Körte (1894), Moraw and Nölle (2002) 88 fig. 119; Corinth CP-534 + CP-2710, *Hesperia* 66, 1997, 118–9 no. 37, pl. 41 (McPhee); Corinth CP-2577 + C 31.83, *Corinth VII.4*, 52 no. 87, pl. 15 (Herbert); Corinth C-70–380, *Corinth VII.4*, no. 176, pl. 29 (Herbert); Corinth C-73–195, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, 151 no. 47, pl. 41 (McPhee).

⁴ One thinks for example of Giudice (1999), or of the work of Mugione including her articles (1999) and (2005), or her book (2000).

more structure than those of padded dancers. It seems reasonable to argue that they are presented as a procession as they enter the orchestra; they also have dress of consistent appearance and they dance as a group in a uniform manner, as choruses should.⁵ These vases seem to have recorded a critical step in the evolution of theatrical performance, but at the same time it is also arguable that depiction of the chorus became deeply embedded in Athenian iconography as a way, indeed the way, of depicting comic theatre.⁶

This way of depicting comic performance was satisfactory for as long as Comedy essentially existed in its choruses – and one remembers for how long the name of the chorus was the title given to the play. The bulk of Athenian vases depicting comic choruses were made between about 550 and about 480, but from the later part of the fifth century there is now the Birds vase, formerly in the Getty Museum, together with its counterpart, the pelike in Atlanta.⁷ They certainly belong to the same series iconographically, and so too does the fragmentary oinochoe of about 380 BC in the Benaki Museum (1)⁸ with its chorus of dancing old men. Beyond that again we have the fragments of the stone relief from the Athenian Agora which must have recorded a comic victory or victories in the theatre, and it did so by depiction of the chorus: it dates to the middle of the fourth century BC.⁹ This is a period at which most scholars would agree that, however important it may have been visually and musically, the chorus had little part in the development of the drama. The conclusion is obvious, that for Athenians the depiction of a comedy by its chorus was a deeply embedded iconographic convention.

Other centres, perhaps because they were slower to take on comic theatre of this kind, did not feel the strength of the convention. It is possible too that, when comedy began to be exported from Athens, inasmuch as it was for the most part from the latest phase of Old and from what we call Middle Comedy, the Greeks of South Italy did not see many full choruses: it is difficult to believe that acting troupes took chorus-performers with them, and they may well not have been inclined to train local young men but

⁵ Green (1985).

⁶ On the importance of the chorus in the conceptualisation of drama, see the excellent summing up by Csapo in his forthcoming book co-written with Peter Wilson.

⁷ Ex-Getty, ed. pr. Green (1985) with updating refs in Green (1989), (1995a) (2008); Atlanta, refs. in Green (2008) with Csapo (2010a) 10 fig. 1.5.

⁸ The numbers in bold in the text refer to the list of vases appended to the end of this chapter.

⁹ Athens, Agora S 1025 and 1586, Webster (1960) 280 no. B7, pl. 66; Bieber (1961) fig. 181; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) fig. 103; *MOMCAS* 3, pl. 9.

have been content with musical interludes such as soon became standard in Athens itself.¹⁰

Although the evidence is somewhat sporadic, it is also worth remembering that, even on Athenian pottery, there had been a steady move in the later part of the fifth century towards the depiction of actors, and even of actors acting. The polychrome plainware jugs from the Athenian Agora and their counterpart in the British Museum (2–6) are dated about 415–410 BC. Their decoration seems to consist of key extracts from a single performance, reasonably thought to be Eupolis' *Taxiarchoi*. It is arguable that this is a special case because they were not made by a regular vase-painter operating in the conventions of the red-figure technique with all its iconographic traditions. From much the same time we have the difficult oinochoe in the Louvre (7) showing a comic Herakles and Nike in a centaur-chariot led by a figure also in standard comic costume with dangling phallos. Here again there is some hesitation between literal depiction of performance and the parts/roles intended. The centaurs look 'real' and the painter gives us no chance to see how they were constructed in the orchestra.

Another very difficult case, perhaps of about 420–415 BC, is the Vlasto oinochoe (8). However one may wish to define the spectators and the setting, there can be little real doubt that we are shown a comic Perseus on a stage. More on this below.

Earlier than these is the cup-fragment (9) found in the Athenian Agora. It should date to about 440–430 BC. An actor is shown in isolation in the central tondo of the vase and he wears what is readily recognisable as comic costume. It is always dangerous to argue from negative evidence, but our continuing lack of depictions of actors before this date may reflect either or both of two situations: the strength of the convention of depicting comedies by their choruses, or an actual lack of much part for the actor before approximately this date. That is, it is arguable that it was only in the period of early Aristophanes that much place began to be given to actor-figures.¹¹ The implication of that, in turn, is that earlier comedy had rather less dramatic complexity of the kind deriving from the interplay of personalities with individual agendas. If this is so, it may well be that the shift towards a comedy built around personalities was something borrowed

¹⁰ In Athens, participation in the chorus was restricted to young males of citizen parentage, and it seems unlikely that they would have travelled with the play. On the other hand, see Dearden (1999) 222–48. Note also Nerveña (2007) and Taplin, this volume, 240–1. Pindar, *Pyth.* 10 (498 BC) sent the ode and had a local choir sing it.

¹¹ Slater (1989); (2002).

from the genre of tragedy, and it is worth remembering that the third actor was a development attributed to Sophocles.¹²

That is the broad picture, but it is worth noting that there is a small cluster of Athenian vases of the years around 380–370 BC that takes up a different theme (10, 11, 12). They seem to show groups of three or four actors not in performance but on their way to a celebration after the performance. It would be difficult to claim that they show a specific event, even if the vases may have been used for one: we cannot know. What is also interesting about them is that they may give us a better understanding of the small choes in Athens and St Petersburg of children dressed up in comic gear in what could be taken as a party context (13, 14). They belong to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century. As will become clear, this is a theme that has no clear counterpart in the west, and one may ask if it evolved in Athens too late to be transmitted.

Among the earliest in the west, but not necessarily the first, is a short series in the red-figure of Metaponto. That city was home to a small but consistent series of comic scenes into the first quarter of the fourth century before they disappeared from the repertoire as the situation for the Greek population there became difficult.¹³ The influence of Attic was probably quite strong, as it was on early Lucanian vase-painting in general, but we may be reasonably certain that these vases also provide a reliable reflection of Metapontine stage practice. The most notable, perhaps, is the small calyx-krater in Berlin with one slave beating another (15, Figure 14.1), made a little before 400 BC. Much of the rest of the preserved material is fragmentary, but it is worth noting that the calyx-krater, the skyphos (16) and probably a number of the others give no sense of the setting on stage.¹⁴

Few and fragmentary as they are, these vases already establish something of a pattern. The Berlin vase has a comic scene, that is one figure interacting with another and thereby creating dramatic action. It is also typical of Old Comedy, the figures stage-naked and the action being one of vigorous movement, one hitting another. Others remain comfortably close to the Attic tradition, for example 16, a skyphos by the Dolon Painter, again with an actor stage-naked, wearing what is probably Mask F and with his left

¹² On the interactions between the dramatic genres, see Taplin (1986).

¹³ On the area of the kilns at Metaponto, see recently Silvestrelli (2005), with references to earlier work.

¹⁴ For that we have to wait until the bell-krater from Montescaglioso of the second quarter of the century (Matera 9579, *NSc* 1988–9, 397–9 figs. 111–12). It is quite possible that this vase is in fact not of Metapontine manufacture, but that it was made somewhere in the Materano, under Tarentine influence.



Figure 14.1 Lucanian (Metapontine) calyx-krater from Apulia, end of the fifth century BC. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

hand on a stick.¹⁵ The costume looks very like that on the fragment from the Athenian Agora with an actor depicted in the tondo of a cup (9). Attic costume too was developing slowly at this period and one could equally compare with this fellow the actor on the chous in the Louvre attributed to the Nikias Painter (7).

Another skyphos by the Dolon Painter seems to have shown a comic Ixion on the wheel (17). There is no evidence that any other figure was standing

¹⁵ On the Dolon Painter, see recently the very useful essay by M. Denoyelle (2002) in which she gives an excellent characterisation of his style; also CVA Louvre 25 (France 38) 35–6 where she puts an early piece by the painter at c. 390 BC. For observations on his workshop in a physical sense, see Silvestrelli (1996), with earlier references.



Figure 14.2 Bell-krater attributed to the Amykos Painter or his circle, end of the fifth century BC. Once Freiburg, market.

by, and so the depiction is more of a statement than a scene of action. On the other hand it is valuable evidence of mythological comedy here in the early years of the fourth century.

Before leaving Lucania, there are two other aspects that one may see as a prelude to future developments. First there is the bell-krater (18, Figure 14.2) that was formerly on the Freiburg market. It was said by Trendall to be near or by the Amykos Painter and of the end of the fifth century. On the left is a comic actor dancing and beating a tympanon. On the right an actor dressed as a papposilenos carries away a maenad with a torch in her left hand. In the centre a 'real' satyr embraces a not-unwilling maenad as they too move to the right. She has an aulos in her left hand. The scene contains two key elements that will be of continuing importance. The event takes place in the evening, as the torch is designed to tell us, and it is a festive procession for the performers. They have been successful with

their performances and they continue with their celebration in the same sanctuary, the sanctuary of Dionysos. There develops from that the other key element, the way that they join with other followers of the god, so that they themselves become his followers and are seen to be such. Much of the reception of theatre from this period on involves this basic concept, but we have nothing quite like it in Attica.¹⁶

The second thing that we see developing already in Metaponto is the use of the mask outside the theatre. On the fragments of a remarkable calyx-krater in the Metropolitan Museum (19) placed by Trendall close to the Dolon Painter, Dionysos reclines at his ease, a thyrsos resting against his left shoulder. A female (Ariadne) sits by his legs on the same couch, apparently removing her clothes. A table stands before them and it must surely have carried wine vessels. They are in a *naiskos*: it should indicate his sanctuary. On the back wall and accompanied by sashes are a tympanon and, by the break at the right, a long-haired female mask. This is the earliest example of the scene known to me but there are at least twenty-nine similar scenes in Tarentine vase-painting after this, that is scenes of Dionysos reclining on a couch or *stibadion* with a mask in his hand or hanging above. This does not include cases of masks held by his attendants or the like.¹⁷

Although these last vases are not central to my theme, one should also bear in mind as background the scenes of Dionysos and his companions that we see on Athenian vases such as those of the Black Thyrsos Painter, in many ways following those of the circle of the Pronomos Painter.¹⁸ It is difficult to suppose that there was not influence from one to the other, and in particular one thinks of the examples such as this in which long-haired female masks are depicted as suspended on the upper wall. Indeed the mask chosen, S and its variant with long hair, SS, is normally the same in both the Attic and the western series. Since it is otherwise far from the most common of masks, its use strengthens the likelihood of direct influence. (For present purposes it matters little whether these masks were conceived as tragic or comic.)

The Tarentine series begins about the same time as the Metapontine; in fact it would be difficult to claim that the one is earlier than the other. Indeed, as is well known, it is not always easy to be sure of what is Tarentine and what Metapontine – as we shall see below with the McDaniel Painter.

¹⁶ See Green (1995a). ¹⁷ See in general Trendall (1988) and (1980–7).

¹⁸ See for example Schauenburg (2006) figs. 178ff., and for those with masks figs. 189 and 191. For some examples from the area of the Pronomos Painter, see Green (1982). For Apulian counterparts, see for example *RVAp* 1, 35 no. 2/8; *RVAp* 1, 68 no. 4/32; *RVAp* 1, 87 no. 4/66; *RVAp* 1, 76 no. 4/76; *RVAp* 1, 76 no. 4/79; *RVAp* 1, 85 no. 4/144; *RVAp* 1, 93 no. 4/202; *RVAp* 1, 108 nos. 5/43 and 5/41; *RVAp* 1, 148 no. 6/95; *RVAp Suppl.* II, 35 no. 6/217a; *RVAp* 1, 212 no. 8/151; *RVAp* 1, 212 no. 8/152; *RVAp* 1, 212 no. 8/153, pl. 67, 3; *RVAp* 1, no. 10/23, pl. 86, 5–6; *RVAp* 1, 267, no. 10/51.

The most notable piece from the initial phase in Taranto is the well-known vase in New York attributed to the Tarporley Painter, a man with close links to his colleagues in Metaponto (20). The vase should possibly be dated in the very last years of the fifth century BC and is certainly to be placed in the earliest phase of the painter's work. Despite its popularity in the modern literature, we need to remind ourselves that the piece was unusual in a number of respects. It is remarkable for the inclusion of dialogue, doubtless an attempt to recall the occasion more precisely, making the action that bit more vivid.¹⁹ A vase-painter was not of course painting pictures in a modern sense; still less was he being photographic. He was re-creating situations. In the longer view, with hindsight, we can see that this piece was transitional too in its composition. Its only good parallel in the west is one where we see the view of the theatre to even better effect: the McDaniel Painter's bell-krater in the British Museum (21, Figure 14.3). It shows an old man and his slave (Xanthias) attempting to get the old man Chiron up the steps from the orchestra and onto the stage as the last act of a long journey (demonstrated by the pack already on the stage).²⁰ There is a young man standing watching on the right, the equivalent of the Tarporley Painter's 'tragoidos', and, above, the two appallingly ugly Nymphs seemingly chatting to each other. Their relevance is that they doubtless represented where Chiron was coming from, a hillside cave shared with the Nymphs. In that they are quite likely shown as masked, it is not improbable that they could have delivered an exposition-scene or prologue.²¹

¹⁹ On the inscriptions, see Beazley (1952) with references to earlier discussions; Webster (1954b) 260–1; De Martino (1998). Beazley was the first to point out that the inscriptions are in iambic trimeters, although Csapo (2001) 32 has expressed doubts.

On the further function of writing on pots, one thinks particularly of Lissarrague's historical overview (1985), and then his articles (1992) and (1994). He is principally concerned with Attic vase-painting of the Archaic and Classical periods, and mostly the former. He concludes that in the later fifth century 'la lettre perd de sa liberté graphique et de sa forme figurale pour céder la place à un code figuratif plus proche de ce qui seront les conventions de l'art occidentale'. See also Hurwit (1990) and Slater (1999). More particularly relevant is the article by De Martino just mentioned. A standard view is that this is a late example of the use of dialogue-inscriptions on vases, but one should remember the Hades inscription on the loutrophoros in Basle: Batschelet-Massini (1984); late, weak work by the Darius Painter and so possibly into the last quarter of the fourth century. For an independent observation of the attempt to depict the whole of the theatre, see Csapo (2010a) 46–7.

²⁰ One might guess it was an opening scene.

²¹ It is possible, as Eric Handley points out to me, that Chiron is on his way to attend the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (cf. Pindar, *Nem.* 3.53ff.), a motif also known to Epicharmus. One recalls that on the François vase he is the first of the procession to be greeted by Peleus, and he is of course prominent on the dinos by Sophilos in the British Museum. Hard to say if the play *Cheiron* under the name of Pherecrates comes into the issue here. The fact that it was also ascribed to others, and seems in any case on the evidence of the fragments to have suffered revision, is no objection to its having been a popular repertory play at the turn of the fifth/fourth century, perhaps the opposite: see already Geissler (1925) 42.



Figure 14.3 Bell-krater attributed to the McDaniel Painter, c. 380 BC. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Inasmuch as they seek to convey the theatre and its setting, not just the action on stage, these two vases exhibit a quite remarkable attempt at grappling with the representation of three-dimensional space and a larger world. It is important to realise, however, that this was not entirely their invention: the actual stage is depicted in a manner that must depend on the tradition of such vases as the *Vlasto oinochoe* (8) of the Athenian sequence, probably of about 420–415 BC. And it too depicts the steps from orchestra to stage as well as the spectators watching. The approach, the manner of the attempt to capture the theatrical event, is too close for it to be coincidental. It is surely evidence that scenes of this kind derived from Athens, and that the development of such depictions in the west was not without precedent.

Indeed to judge from the styles of the two painters, it is not impossible that there was some workshop connection.

These three vases, the Attic and the two western, are remarkable in the history of vase-painting. Their attempt to capture the theatrical space and what was happening in it has no good precedent and no good parallel. It must grow out of the notion of re-creating situations, such as we have mentioned above, but it is much broader in concept than anything that came before.²² Another vase, an unattributed bell-krater in Bari, also gives an end-on view of the stage, with figures ascending the steps from the orchestra on a visit to what is generally thought to be the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon (22). It should be rather later and is a last and rather feeble attempt at this approach.

On present evidence, the Tarporley Painter introduced two other themes into the Tarentine sequence. The one is Dionysos contemplating a mask, a motif that turns up later in very many contexts. Indeed it is so common that it is difficult to believe he alone was responsible for its popularity. It is seen on the Jan Mitchell bell-krater in the Metropolitan Museum (23) where Dionysos holds the mask in his left hand while he supports a thyrsos tied with a sash in his right. He stands on one side of a small podium on which rests a decorated bell-krater. On the right, using an oinochoe to draw wine from the krater, is a very genteel horned satyr (young pan), wearing sandals and carrying a torch. The other of his introductions to the west that must surely have had its origin in Athens is seen on a bell-krater in the British Museum (24, Figure 14.4). It too has a young pan, but in this case he is an onlooker, on the far right. On the left is a young man being crowned with a wreath by Nike who at the same time carries a phiale. The young man carries a mask, probably tragic, and it identifies him as a member of a chorus that had been successful in the competitions. He has some drapery over his left arm and he holds it away from his body with his right hand. One suspects that the horned satyr (pan) finds him attractive and that this is why he carries a bird in his hand, as a love-gift. It also tells us something of the perceived age of the young man.²³

The motif of a successful young chorusman was not one that was to become particularly frequent in western vase-painting, but it was a popular

²² Even than the battle-scene at a city wall on the tondo of the red-figure cup inscribed Kleomelos Kalos; see for example Robertson (1992) 135 fig. 137, with his perceptive comments. One may however note a contemporary or slightly later attempt on an early South Italian volute-krater published by Spatafora (2001) 371–80.

²³ One notices that he is less well muscled even than the Eros of the painter's skyphos, British Museum F 126.



Figure 14.4 Bell-krater attributed to the Tarporley Painter, early fourth century bc.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

one in Athens at the period and it helps emphasise the links between Taranto and Athens in this early phase of western red-figure. One thinks in broad terms of the Pronomos vase and its counterparts, or indeed of the grave relief from Salamis, nowadays in the Piraeus Museum, with a young man holding a mask, commemorating his participation in a chorus, an event that was surely the highlight of his short life.²⁴

About the same time and slightly later there is a cluster of vase-painters who represent comedies. The most obvious nowadays is perhaps the Choregos Painter, whom Trendall placed about 380 bc. Trendall attributed only three vases to his hand, and two of them have comic scenes. One of the latter is the name vase that was for a while in the Getty Museum (25), and the other is the bell-krater in Milan, from Ruvo, with Philotimides holding a

²⁴ E.g. Micheli (1998) 9 fig. 6; Steinhauer (1998) fig. 18 (colour). Compare Comella (2002) although this piece is not mentioned.



Figure 14.5 Bell-krater, attributed to the McDaniel Painter, c. 380 BC. © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

fillet and a tray of goodies for his ghastrly coquettish Charis (26).²⁵ Another is the McDaniel Painter, who is named after the bell-krater with comic scene at Harvard (27, Figure 14.5); he was placed by Trendall and Cambitoglou in chapter 4 of *RVAp* along with a number of other painters who

²⁵ The other vase is in many ways even more remarkable. It is the splendid bell-krater in Cleveland with a bust of Dionysos in the centre and to either side a comic actor and an actor as papposilenos in a version of the traditional vintage scene enjoyed by satyrs: picking grapes and enjoying the wine (89.73, e.g. *CAH Plates to Volumes v and vi* (1994) 165–6 no. 177, Green (1995a) pl. 8a–c, Maffre (2000) 302 fig. 23). To the left is a thymiaterion, emphasising the setting as the god's sanctuary. Here we have another early representation of actors as the companions of the god, this time in a vivid version, conceived imaginatively so as to remind the viewer of a traditional motif. For the motif, see Metzger (1972) 120–2; Sparkes (1976); De Caro (1996); O. E. Borghers and H. A. G. Brijder in *CVA Amsterdam* (5), text to pll. 278 and 280, 1.

depicted scenes from Comedy: the Schiller Painter, the Reckoning Painter, the Adolphseck Painter, the Prisoner Painter and the Eton-Nika Painter, all of whom are listed as followers of the Tarporley Painter. On the other hand, as Francesca Silvestrelli points out to me, on grounds of find-spots and such matters as the quality of his glaze, there is a good chance that further research will show him to be Metapontine.²⁶ Whatever the case, the McDaniel Painter stands above the rest of them in the quality of his drawing and in his ability to capture the theatrical moment.²⁷

All of these painters abandon the attempt at a total approach and concentrate instead on a frontal view of the stage, without distractions. We see the edge of the stage and the action is shown taking place on it. Showing the stage itself seems to have created no conceptual problems, since we already had an end-view of it (and a side-view of the steps) in the other mode.²⁸ The Choregos vase (25) shows the steps from the orchestra at the front, and both it and the Milan vase show the column supports (26). Both have an open stage-door at the left, the one from which the figure of Aigisthos has just emerged on the Choregos vase; on the scene in Milan it is used, as in fact on the Tarporley Painter's vase in New York, as an indicator of a domestic setting. The shift is important. Although some of the Dolon Painter's work was focused on the dramatic action, it was, as it were, a selection.

Although I would not wish to press the point, it is arguable that the change more or less coincides with the growing concentration on the drama of contemporary comedy: less running around and chasing around the orchestra, greater focus on the evolution of the story and the interaction of individual characters. The new mode of depiction was also much easier to carry out.

The comic scenes attributed to the McDaniel Painter have never to my knowledge been considered as a group.²⁹ His bell-krater in Würzburg (28, Figure 14.6) has an older male bringing a spear to a slave sitting on a stool and dressed as an Amazon: one breast, helmet and a

²⁶ Except for the Boston vase, which is thought to have come from Pisticci, none of the nine vases given to him and compared with his work in *RVAp* has a known provenience. One bears in mind the comments in *RVAp* on the Tardol Group and the links it demonstrates between painters in Taranto and Metaponto.

²⁷ There was a time when Trendall thought he was the one who decorated the Milan vase later attributed to the Choregos Painter: Bromberg (1959) 239.

²⁸ For discussion of the changing height of the stage, see Goette (1999); Green (2001). On reading the images of stages more generally, see for example Hughes (1996).

²⁹ Bromberg made useful comparisons of his style with that of the Tarporley Painter at 239–40 of her article, but concentrated on the Harvard vase.



Figure 14.6 Bell-krater attributed to the McDaniel Painter, 380–370 BC.
Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg.

shield.³⁰ It is not evident from his gesture with his raised right arm that the slave is a willing participant in this process. (It is interesting that the phalloi of neither are visible.) The old man wears an *exomis*, a poor man's garment. They perform on a stage of which just the capitals of the supports are shown. At the left is an open door through which the man has presumably brought out the spear; it is rather summarily drawn – one might guess through much repetition. The Harvard vase (27, Figure 14.5) is probably a little earlier in date and yet no supports are shown for the stage. Again there is an old man, but this one is of different status: he wears a *himation*, with his left hand wrapped in it, and carries a stick in his right. He has some objects largely concealed in the fold of his *himation* at his belly. He comes in from the left while towards him from the door on the right rushes

³⁰ One might think that this represents a scene from one of the *Atalanta* plays, whether that of *Strattis* or another. Brandes-Druba (1994) 148 n. 12 uses the architecture in the scene in support of his view that it shows *Odysseus* and *Achilles* in the palace of *Lykomedes* on *Skyros*.

an old woman.³¹ The rapidity of her movement is indicated by the swish of her skirt. She holds her hands out to him, palms up, a gesture that is mostly to be taken as supplicatory in some sense. He leans back, away from her, and presumably does not want to accede to her request, at least not immediately. Above, hanging on the wall, is a slave mask. One guesses that the role had some key function in the drama, but a mask in this position is a somewhat old-fashioned inclusion.³² The style of the mask is like that of the slave on the other vase. The door is more carefully and elaborately done, with a pediment above; at the extreme left, beyond the man, is a fine column.³³ Both these vases are well drawn, with effective use of line, and with subtle and readable portrayal of the characters. The scenes make use of the physical properties of the stage.

Trendall and Cambitoglou compared two other comic scenes with this painter's work. One is the bell-krater in Catania with Herakles bringing the Kerkopes in cages to Zeus (29). It has been known since at least the middle of the nineteenth century. While there are similarities to the McDaniel Painter's hand, it would be surprising if it were actually his. There is an altar and the Zeus sits on a stool, but there is no indication of either the stage or its fittings. The other is much more convincing and surely his. It is the bell-krater in Boston (30, Figure 14.7), said to be from Pisticci, with what seems to be another version of the Goose Play represented on the New York calyx-krater.³⁴ The old man, a prisoner on the calyx-krater, is depicted in an earlier scene, in a gymnasium, pouring oil into his hand from an aryballos. The animals and the baskets (two of them) are behind him. On the left and facing him is the Scythian slave and behind him, a herm (a Hermes herm). Both men are stage-naked. The drawing of the old man (and especially his mask) is just like that of the painter's other vases. The whole is set on a stage supported by three columns. Trendall placed the vase about 370 BC but I do not see why it should not be earlier, no more than a decade or at most two after the New York vase. If so, it means that the two different styles of view should be near-contemporary, even if the Tarporley Painter's is more traditional.

We may note in passing that the Tarporley Painter put his palaestra with the old man and the Scythian in the orchestra. The McDaniel Painter put

³¹ I am not at all sure that the mask indicates that she is his wife.

³² Compare the Tarporley Painter's vase in New York (20).

³³ I wonder if the door here indicates a temple or sanctuary, given its elaborate form; this would also help explain the column to the left. The woman has Mask R which is used elsewhere for a priestess. Her dress would also be appropriate: peplos with long overfall rather than chiton and himation. 'She' still has a padded belly, as actors in female roles do at this period.

³⁴ The suggestion made by Vermeule (1970) and taken up first by Dearden (1988), and then by Taplin (1993a).



Figure 14.7 Bell-krater attributed to the McDaniel Painter, 380–370 BC. © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

them on stage. If we are to take it literally, the younger painter is showing an important shift in theatre practice, and quite possibly between performances in Taranto and Metaponto.

A further piece which seems to me to be from the hand of the McDaniel Painter is a bell-krater in Metaponto, also from Pisticci (31, Figure 14.8). It has not seen much publication. The handling of the masks, the drapery and the leggings, not to mention the door, has very much in common.³⁵ The subject-matter can be described but is not easy to interpret. At the right a quite elegant older woman stands in a doorway, making a gesture that could be taken as dismay. In front of her is an inelegant, indeed uncouth young man wearing a skin or fur pilos and a skin cloak; with his right hand he shows her what looks like a broken object that one supposes he is attempting to explain. Over at the left, leaning against a pilaster, seen by the audience but perhaps not at the moment by the other two, is what can only be an hetaira. She takes up a would-be sexy pose and pulls back her himation from her face. It is likely that she was in some way responsible for

³⁵ So too does the maeander pattern below.



Figure 14.8 Bell-krater attributed to the McDaniel Painter, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Direzioni Regionali per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici della Basilicata – Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Basilicata.

his misadventures. It is a classic case of a depiction that would be evocative if only we knew the play.³⁶

In this case the figures are shown on a stage, with the door to the right and the pilaster to the left. The latter could have been the painter's invention. The vase is perhaps a little later than his others.

³⁶ The object carried by the youth could possibly be a shoe. Alan Griffiths points out to me the relevance of the Rhodopis story narrated by Strabo (17.1.33 (808)) and by Aelian: 'The Egyptian tradition is that Rhodopis was a very beautiful courtesan. Once when she was taking a bath, fate, which is so fond of bringing about the strange and unexpected, acted in a way appropriate not to her intelligence but to her beauty. As she washed and the maids looked after her clothes, an eagle flew down, snatched one of her shoes, and made off with it. It carried the shoe to Memphis, where Psammetichus was judging cases, and threw it into his lap. Psammetichus was amazed by the design of the shoe, the beauty of its workmanship, and by the action of the bird. He gave orders for the woman who owned the shoe to be searched for throughout Egypt, and when he found her he married her.' Aelian, *VH* 13.33, trans. N. G. Wilson, Loeb Classical Library. It is a story that would lend itself splendidly to comic parody.

This point about the architecture prompts a major question. It is legitimate, indeed necessary, to ask how reliable these depictions and others like them are as representations of what happened on stage. In the end the question is of course unanswerable, but even so we should explore the limits of what the vase-painter typically gives us, if only to modify our own expectations. It is risky too to attempt even a partial answer without taking into account every extant example. Nonetheless it is worth pointing out a few of the limits. It is a given of the theatrical event that the spectator suspends some disbelief and is prepared, at least at a certain level, to believe what he or she sees on the other side of the orchestra. In witnessing the event the vase-painter as a member of the audience is participating in the event, and interpreting the literal, actual actions and stage setting, the conventions of the performance in terms of what he understands as the drama. When, some time later – and we don't know how long later – he comes to put it down on the surface of a clay vessel, he is selective in his memory and he is bound by certain artistic conventions inherited as part of his trade as a vase-painter, and by certain practicalities, not least the absence of sound and the impossibility of using colour, not to mention the impossibility of using moving pictures. Many vase-painters throughout the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries, and not just those depicting theatre, try in some way to convey sound, through inscriptions, through including musical instruments (of which the viewer would doubtless imagine at least the style of sound), and most of all through body-language and gesture. The Tarporley Painter included a key piece of dialogue, but for most this was a clumsy or impractical expedient, and even he did not apparently employ it elsewhere. The absence of colour was a serious problem, and when we have traces of it in other media (terracottas, paintings or mosaics) it clearly conveyed a range of information about age, identity, status and so on when applied to mask and costume. The vase-painter had somehow to attempt to compensate. The absence of moving pictures seems self-evident, but it is worth contemplating how the vase-painter compensated for that too, usually again through gesture and body-language, through the swing of drapery, as well as his placement of figures in relation to each other on the available surface of the pot.

This leads to the point that the length of the stage as shown on the pot is surely far too short relative to the size of the figures. In some respects this may not matter too much (as anyone who has watched events on a reasonably large sports ground will know, one tends to focus in on the core of the action), but it must have prevented the painter from translating a director's grouping of figures and his use of the space of the stage. This limitation must also have interacted with the vase-painter's training in other sorts of depictions to spread his figures fairly evenly, as surface decoration of the pot

he was working on. And so it is in comic scenes. He arranges the figures so as to suit his pot-picture, even if at the same time he doubtless echoes what he saw on stage. Another unrealistic feature is the omission of doorways unless they have some direct part in the action depicted, and then he puts them to left or right as it suits him in the particular case. Or, as we shall see in the Sicilian tradition, the open central door when used as a sanctuary can fill a great deal of the available space. Other features of the stage and the stage-building are often omitted, such as the windows, and one hardly ever sees the roof. All this is reasonable enough, but we should be conscious of it.

In drawing the figures, the Tarentine (or Metapontine) vase-painter hardly ever gives a frontal or even a three-quarter view. One cannot imagine that the actors remained in profile the whole time, not taking the advantage of communicating more directly with the audience, of making an impact with the audience.³⁷ More recent theatrical practice would argue the contrary. This must surely reflect restrictions in his training: it is only rarely that figures in contemporary and earlier depictions of life or myth have direct interaction with the viewer of the vase rather than with each other.

There are times when the vase-painter probably included something that was not present on stage. Such instances are inevitably hard to detect and we can only proceed on grounds of probability. There are depictions of bushes or shrubs that are surely to be explained by the painter's desire to give a setting for the action that he had learned from a verbal creation of context.³⁸ So too, one suspects, the inclusion of boukrania or sashes to indicate a sanctuary, although it is conceivable that they reflect items hung against the stage-building; fountains must be products of the imagination. One observes that as time goes on, there are more depictions that move from the actuality of the stage to the circumstances conveyed by the performance, for example a rural setting with uneven ground.³⁹

In addition, a painter will inevitably insert something of his personal style into a depiction. A difficult but not extreme example concerns the

³⁷ As is implied on the Gnathia fragment in Würzburg showing an actor who has taken off his mask after a performance, or as we see with some single figures of comedy such as the reveller on the Matsch krater (39) or the figure of Derkylos on the Zewadski calyx-krater (40, Figure 14.14) or the reveller in Geneva who seems to communicate directly with the viewer (37). Again Sicilian differs somewhat in these respects. One might also compare the 'paidagogos' figures in Apulian vase-painting: Green (1999).

³⁸ Thus the tree or bush on Berlin F 3045 with a comic Neoptolemos approaching Priam on the altar: e.g. Taplin (1993a) pl. 18, no. 19, *RVAp* I, 78 no. 4/92 (related to the Eton-Nika Painter); or again what may be intended to represent a palm on Bari 2970 (22). One would like to know what to make of the tree on the Malaguzzi-Valeri vase in Rome where it seems intrinsic to the action as a girl piper hides behind it, making music for the slaves who pretend to play: e.g. Taplin (1993a) pl. 14a–b, no. 11; *RVAp* I, 400 no. 15/28, pl. 140, 5.

³⁹ Compare Figure 14.13.



Figure 14.9 Bell-krater attributed to the Cotugno Painter, c. 370–360 BC. Museo Archeologico Provinciale di Bari.

so-called Cotugno Painter. Within the total picture of Apulian vase-painting he is a minor figure. He was placed by Trendall and Cambitoglou in their Judgement Group, which contains quite a lot of work that strays outside the straight and narrow of mainstream Tarentine. His work seems to belong in the second quarter of the fourth century. Four comic scenes may be attributed to his hand, all of them on bell-kraters, in Bari (32), Taranto (33), Madrid (34) and the Getty Museum (35).⁴⁰ They are quite well known. The Bari vase (32, Figure 14.9) has the scene often associated with the *Dionysalexandros* of Cratinus, in which Dionysos enticed Helen away from Menelaos: it has a woman standing between an older male with stick (Menelaos?) and a younger man with thyrsos and wreath (Dionysos?). The woman's face is unfortunately damaged so we cannot be sure of the mask-type but the treatment of the hair suggests that she was given something of

⁴⁰ The Madrid vase was not included by Trendall and Cambitoglou in *RVAp* but it is clearly from his hand.



Figure 14.10 Bell-krater attributed to the Cotugno Painter, c. 370–360 BC. Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid.

the characteristics of a hetaira. The krater in Taranto (33, Figure 14.12) is fragmentary and we miss some key elements, but on any interpretation it shows a consultation of Apollo at Delphi.⁴¹ The man on the left brings offerings, the woman towards the right is possibly the Pythia, the cloaked old man at the far right seems startled. The painter has included two trees (laurel in very unnaturalistic form) and, for some reason, a mask. The figure of Apollo is shown as ‘real’, not a comic actor.⁴² One wonders if this is a conversion into stage form of a reported incident from a play. The Madrid vase (34, Figure 14.10) has a slave putting incense on a thurible, a young man talking

⁴¹ Lo Porto takes the scene as a parody of Euripides, *Ion*, with the figure at the left as Ion, and to the right his mother Creusa, followed by Xouthos. To take the figure of a slave as Ion seems unlikely unless he was somehow portrayed as a slave of the sanctuary; but then his recognition as a free man of good family would be difficult. One might have expected a figure such as that on the right of his bell-krater in Bari (32) or in the centre of his krater in Madrid (34).

⁴² Compare the Hera of London 1772.3–20.33 (F 269): e.g. Bieber (1920) 141–2 fig. 126; *LIMC* II, Ares *73; Jenkins and Sloan (1996) 139 no. 24 (ill.).



Figure 14.11 Bell-krater attributed to the Cotugno Painter, second quarter of the fourth century BC. The J. Paul Getty Museum.

to him, and an argumentative woman at the right. In part because of the regular spacing of the three figures, they do not interact very well, despite their gestures. The same tripartite arrangement also governs the Getty vase (35, Figure 14.11), although in this case it works slightly better. A young man converses with a woman; Zeus rushes on eagerly from the right (the gods' quarter in Greek theatre) thinking she is attractive, at least from behind, but we know that he is about to discover that she is surpassingly ugly. The painter himself contributes the expression in the face of Zeus'



Figure 14.12 Bell-krater attributed to the Cotugno Painter, second quarter of the fourth century BC. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Direzione Regionale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici della Puglia – Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia.

mask, and then the wind-blown shawl and skirt of the woman.⁴³ He also exhibits confusion as to whether the young man is stage-naked, as for the most part he appears to be, or whether he is wearing some kind of garment that is fastened at his right shoulder. The stage here is conventional (and Zeus only just fits on) and strictly rectilinear in its construction, in fact very like that on the Bari vase. On the Madrid vase (34, Figure 14.10) he appears to have shown the grain and knots in the timber. The fourth stage, on the vase in Taranto (33, Figure 14.12), is a product of the artistic imagination:

⁴³ Not even the best of directors could guarantee that in an ancient theatre the wind would blow from the east at the appropriate moment.

attractive as it may seem on the vase, as closing off the ends, no ancient carpenter would construct one like this, the horizontal boards held only by a few dowels through the end uprights, without even a rebate to help support them (even presupposing the stability of the uprights).

We may notice quickly some other aspects of the Cotugno Painter's depictions. Many of the figures are repetitive, for example the left-hand figures on the Bari, Madrid and Taranto vases, the young men on the Madrid and Bari; so too elements of the poses. The masks are all made uglier than the norm: note especially the treatment of the noses on all but the Zeus. And then the phalloi are done as gross human ones rather than the leather appendages normal to the stage.⁴⁴ Whatever else, the painter has a substantial personal input, interpretation beyond what he may have seen. He is not alone in this respect.

In the second quarter of the fourth century, there is in general more variety of approach, sometimes with stages, sometimes without, sometimes with apparent observation of detail, at other times rather generalised with a tendency towards stock themes, such as a wife confronting a husband. The 'better' depictions continue to provide what is apparently a good picture of theatrical practice, but the quality becomes uneven. From around the middle of the century, one finds a growing number of single figures, and with that, a growing interest in expressing generic figures of the comic stage rather than representations of particular moments of particular comedies. In broad terms there are two main trends. One of them was short-lived but important as evidence. It consists of a series of single figures carried out in the Gnathia technique. The drawing is normally extremely careful and the colouring refined. For convenience I list those known to me, nine of them in all (36–44). My personal favourite is the krater in the British Museum with a cook carrying a table of good things including a pyramid cake into a sanctuary (38, Figure 14.13). No one, however, could fault the reveller with his torch, a hydria with its sprays and 'sacred chain', and his elaborate wreath on the krater in Geneva (37) from fractionally earlier; one admires the use of highlight to give roundness to his hands and face/mask, a less pronounced use of it on his left leg, or the use of a darker shade to suggest depth and three-dimensionality in his drapery. It is a superb piece of drawing. But the figure of Derkylos on the Tampa krater (40, Figure 14.14), or the man on the Malibu situla (42) are also outstanding, as is the Zeus on the well-known jug in Taranto (43) or the winning Philopotes on the

⁴⁴ On hanging phalloi by this date, see Green (2006).



Figure 14.13 Calyx-krater attributed to the Compiègne Painter, mid fourth century BC.
© Trustees of the British Museum.

stemless cup in Berlin (44, Figure 14.15).⁴⁵ Many of them are probably to be linked stylistically, but for our present purposes we should be conscious that they give an excellent picture of costume in the latest phase of Middle Comedy as the padding to belly and backside is reduced for the free men (but not of course for the slaves, including the cook⁴⁶) and the phallos is drastically reduced in size.

The other major trend looks in a quite different direction and it presents considerable problems of interpretation. A somewhat curious oinochoe of about 330–320 BC is a good example (45, Figure 14.16). There are two figures standing by a *termon*, on the left what one may read as an angry old man, and in front of him, a slave who by his gesture is protesting his innocence and asking him to stop his threats. We may also notice his body-language, with his feet close together, taking up little space, by contrast with

⁴⁵ The figure on the bell-krater in Vienna, 41, stands somewhat apart from the rest. Although the notion of an isolated figure doubtless draws inspiration from this series, it was manufactured outside Taranto and derives from another representation rather than the stage: see my article (*BICS* forthcoming).

⁴⁶ On the history of the cook (and his mask P) in Middle Comedy, see Green (2003).



Figure 14.14 Calyx-krater, third quarter of the fourth century bc. Photograph courtesy of W. K. Zewadski.

the man: it expresses his timidity. The treatment of the slave is relatively straightforward. His mask may reasonably be taken as mask B, the standard mask for a slave, and one may note in passing that it is of fairly developed type appropriate to the period, with comparatively short rather than a jutting beard. He wears an exomis over the tights, as one would expect for a slave. It is slightly odd that he has little padding on his belly or backside, but even odder is that fact that he does not have a short, tied-up phallos such as we have just seen is a norm by this period: it is rather gross and of a human rather than conventional stage form. The same is very obviously true of the old man. We may notice too that, although there is some hint that



Figure 14.15 Stemless cup, 330–320 BC. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

he is wearing the standard body-tights, this is contradicted by the absence of a division between the body-suit and sleeves at his right shoulder, and especially by the line of hair running up towards his navel from the area of the phallos: one does not find this in stage costume.⁴⁷ Then the mask is not of any known type. We may also observe that he is given a lagobolon rather than an old man's staff.

What we seem to have is a conversion from what we know to have been a standard scene to something that is credibly funny in more directly human terms. It is not a stage scene but was created for a market that found Middle Comedy figures grotesque, rude and innately amusing. It is a fairly new development and it implies a new sort of market. To judge by its shape, its finish and general appearance, the vase was almost certainly made in Taranto. We know very little of the composition of the city's population at this period, so we cannot say with any confidence if Greek tastes were changing, or if there had been an influx of non-Greek people who were perhaps less appreciative of the conventions and nuances of the Greek stage, or if, indeed, it was made for deliberate (as distinct from casual) export to

⁴⁷ With the interesting exceptions of the Vlasto Perseus (8) and the figure at the head of procession of the Louvre jug (7).



Figure 14.16 Oinochoe, once Melbourne priv. coll. Photograph courtesy of the late Professor A. D. Trendall.

the native populations outside Taranto itself, some of whom were adopting more and more aspects of Greek culture at this time.⁴⁸

The vase has not been attributed but it seems to me to be related to the work of the Cotugno Painter even if it would be difficult to demonstrate

⁴⁸ This is not the place at which to enter this debate, but I see pieces such as this as being the kind of thing they picked up and that they themselves imitated, for example in the Xenon Group with its depictions of gross figures. Compare Robinson (2004). Despite the inscription on the Xenon name-vase, Todisco in this volume has very useful comments on the implications of the apparent lack of Greek amongst the general population in most areas of Apulia outside Taranto: it must have inhibited the appreciation of Comedy, which was in any case in Attic rather than the Doric of Taranto. One should also take on board his point about the limited number of known proveniences.



Figure 14.16 (*cont.*)

that it is his. It runs parallel to the later work in the area of the Felton Painter where something of the same approach occurs. The Felton Painter's more elaborate, up-market work places him in the so-called 'Ornate' tradition of Apulian red-figure that began with the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos, developed into 'Early Ornate', and then continued after him with the Iliupersis and Lycurgus Painters. Particularly in the later part of his career, he and his colleagues set about creating a considerable production of what one might call down-market vases, very often oinochoai, decorated with dwarfs, naked grotesques and visually humorous scenes that in some cases, like the vase just mentioned, draw on figures of the theatre for

inspiration.⁴⁹ There are also actor-figures in company with women whom one may wish to take as maenads. At the very least these vases demonstrate a link with theatrical performance in the minds of the vase-painter and purchaser, but one that takes us outside the confines of the theatre proper, into a wider world.

The Felton Painter's workshop also seems to have been responsible for many of the small red-figure jugs decorated simply with masks (almost fifty are known).⁵⁰ They date to the third quarter of the fourth century in an environment in which masks come to be used to stand for characters. At about the same time, and certainly from about 330 onwards, masks come to be a principal decoration of many Gnathia vases (over 200 examples are known to me), and they continue into the first quarter of the third century; but while the most popular of the red-figure masks is that of the slave, on the slightly later Gnathia pottery, masks of hetairai are far more common. They echo the changing nature of comedy.

The comic vases of Sicily begin before the middle of the fourth century and last only for a short period. The idea of decorating vases with comic scenes doubtless came from Taranto, but the Sicilian versions have a distinctive and lively style which, as well as being highly decorative, conveys a vivid impression of stage movement and action. The range of shapes decorated is not quite the same as that in Taranto. Calyx-kraters were rather more popular and there are relatively few bell-kraters; in some ways the most distinctive shape is the skyphoid krater which was large enough and flat-sided enough to present a useful field for decoration. Apart from some oinochoai, there are few small vessels or drinking vessels.

Syracuse had a tradition of Athenian theatre going back at least to the time of Aeschylus, and producers there seem to have stayed as directly in touch with developments in Athens as did those of Taranto.⁵¹ There seem to have been two main streams or workshop traditions, both of them emerging from the area of the Dirce Painter.⁵² On the one hand the Manfria Painter

⁴⁹ Note especially the material from chamber tomb 1 discovered in the excavations in the Viale Virgilio, Taranto, in 1981–2. On the tomb-group, see also Lippolis (1994) pl. iv (opp. p. 49).

⁵⁰ For a list, see Trendall (1988).

⁵¹ On Aeschylus' visits to Sicily, see Bosher, this volume, with earlier references.

⁵² One needs to bear in mind that Trendall originally discussed the Dirce Painter with Campanian in *LCS* 202ff., although he also noted there that all the painter's vases with secure provenience were from Sicily. He gave firmer recognition to his probable Sicilian base in *LCS* Suppl. III, 89. The painter's work was listed in *RVP* 24ff. among 'Sicilian Forerunners' on the grounds of his stylistic position at the head of the Paestan tradition. In *RVSIS* (29f, and see the chart p. 271) he is placed firmly with the Sicilian sequence, and this is where he belongs. The Painter and Group of Louvre K 240 are listed and discussed in *RVP* 42ff. and discussed with

and the Lentini-Manfria Group, and on the other the Painter of Louvre K 240 and the group around him. The Dirce Painter is normally dated about 380–360 BC, and the Lentini-Manfria Group to the third quarter of the fourth century. The latter seem to have remained fully in touch with developments coming across from Athens and perhaps Taranto. The work of the Painter of Louvre K 240 and his colleagues runs from some time in the second quarter to the middle of the century and possibly a little beyond. Part of their importance lies in the fact that they stand at the head of the Paestan series of Asteas and Python. More work remains to be done on the actual locations of the workshops.⁵³

The Dirce Painter's calyx-krater in Madrid (46) for the moment stands alone. The figures of Zeus, a slave and hetaira are placed on a band that must represent the surface of a stage in much the same way as we see on Tarentine vases of towards 360 BC. They have heavily padded bellies and long hanging phalloi that would make one think of the earlier side of the date-range normally given, of c. 380–360 BC.⁵⁴

The comic vases of the Lentini-Manfria Group surely reflect performances in Syracuse. They are quite different from the Dirce Painter's vase in their approach and, for that matter, from the developed Tarentine tradition. They exhibit an explicit consciousness of the setting of the stage with the stairs leading up to it and, behind the figures, the semicolumns of the façade of the stage building. The depictions are in themselves humorous, often through some exaggeration of the body-language of the characters. Several of these vases, such as the large calyx-krater in Lentini (47) or the skyphoid krater formerly in the Museo Teatrale in Milan (48), are deservedly famous. A good example of a fairly standard work is the skyphoid krater in Gela (49, Figure 14.17). It has an old man standing and leaning on his stick in front of his slave who is shown seated on an altar, his legs turned away and his hands clasped to his chest. To judge by his pose and the position of his hands, the slave sits trembling with fear, real or pretended, in refuge on the altar. His master takes his time about reciting his sins. Unusually for

Paestan in *RVSIS* 198–9 where Trendall noted: 'Several of these vases have a Sicilian provenience, and one of them is a rhyton, a shape not found at Paestum; this is perhaps why it now seems safer to regard them as the immediate forerunners of Paestan, rather than as true Paestan.' This is not the place to debate his 'perhaps why.' As will be seen below, I take the Painter of Louvre K 240 as Sicilian.

⁵³ On the early phases, see for example Giudice (2002). Note also the more recent work of S. Barresi, for example his (2002) article on the pottery from Adranon.

⁵⁴ There is a vertical band behind the hetaira. I do not know if it represents a column signifying a house and doorway, or (less likely) a semicolumn of the façade of the stage building such as one sees on later Sicilian comic scenes, or simply a border for the picture.



Figure 14.17 Fragments of a skyphoid krater attributed to the Manfria Group, c. 340–330 BC. Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e dell' Identità Siciliana e il Museo Archeologico Regionale Gela.

this period, the slave is stage-naked and the fact is doubtless an expression of his pathetic quality. The white-haired old man is well-dressed, with a himation that covers his left arm. It just reveals a small, tied-up phallos. Both still wear padding and it is worth noting that both figures wear sandals: they seem to have been introduced gradually, first for free citizens and later for slaves. By the time of New Comedy they are standard. The actors are shown on stage, between columns; by the altar the painter shows a tree or shrub.

Probably the single most important Sicilian piece for the history of Middle Comedy is the calyx-krater in Messina (50). It has been much discussed elsewhere and we need touch on it only briefly. In the centre is a slave disguised as a bride. To the left is the groom who shows surprise as the real bride appears from the far left. To the right is a father figure. Four columns are placed behind the figures and the action is set on a high stage supported

by piers; a pair of stairs leads up from the orchestra.⁵⁵ The vase in Gela had a simplified version of this stage construction.

Those of the Group of Louvre K 240 are well painted and innately attractive, but they head off in a different direction. Fragments of only a couple of vases would seem to preserve comic scenes as such. The remainder are paratheatrical. Of those that apparently had comic scenes, we have the Gela fragments 8255 and 8256 (51). On the one (8256) there is an old man by a door, leaning on stick, from the left of the scene; on the other (8255), there are the leg and foot and part of another crossed leg of a male seated on altar, and then to the right, part of leg of a further man standing with stick. We have something of the front edge of the stage, decorated with maeander, and some curtain below. One might reconstruct the scene as a confrontation between a man and his slave who sits on the altar, while the man at the left by the door looks on.⁵⁶ The publications do not often illustrate the second fragment, presumably because it illustrates only parts of figures. The fragments are from a skyphoid krater and so this piece should have been made in Sicily, as the clay would also indicate.⁵⁷ The other piece is a fragment of a situla that seems to have shown a scene from a mythological comedy (52), but we do not have enough to be sure of what was going on and it must remain an uncertain case.

There is also the well-known rhyton in Syracuse (53). On it a white-haired old man is shown leaning on his stick and talking to a slave who holds up a mirror for him to look into. It is a credible dramatic situation, perhaps made the more so by the fact that it is the slave who wears a wreath, not the old man; but there is no setting.

More typical of the Group are items such as the calyx-krater in Lipari (54) on which Dionysos and some actors watch an acrobat perform, on stage, while two actors as females look on from windows. Dionysos holds pipes in his left hand as well as the thyrsos; he presumably holds them for the girl while she performs. He expresses his admiration with the gesture of right hand on head. One of the actors is in the role of an old rustic who bends forward in astonishment.⁵⁸ The treatment of the stage is like that

⁵⁵ Compare the important and larger but somewhat less well preserved calyx-krater in the Louvre (ht. 57 cm): CA 7249, Pasquier (1998) 195–214. Denoyelle and Iozzo (2009) 175 fig. 248.

⁵⁶ Orlandini (1953) provided the definitive description.

⁵⁷ They are not from a calyx-krater as suggested in Sena Chiesa and Arslan (2004): a fragment that seemed to be from the cul of such a vase is alien and has now been detached. The fact that this piece and others are listed in *RVP* does not of course mean that they are in fact Paestan, but rather that they form part of the background to Paestan.

⁵⁸ The other man is not his slave but quite likely his son: the mask is not a slave's and he carries a staff, like a free man. His wearing of an exomis is in this case a sign of his rustic background. The illustration in *Magna Grecia* III shows him more clearly.



Figure 14.18 Fragments of a calyx-krater attributed to Asteas, mid fourth century BC. Assessorato dei Beni Culturali e dell' Identità Siciliana e il Museo Archeologico Regionale Gela.

on the Gela fragments mentioned above (51). One can see more easily here that the side-frame of the picture is a pair of attenuated columns that are made to reach from the ground (not the stage) to the top of the scene. The key point for us at the moment is the ambiguity between the actuality of a performance in a theatre and the further reality involving the god's presence. One other example of the Group takes us a little further. The well-preserved calyx-krater in the Getty Museum (55) has an old man carrying torches in procession with Dionysos and a piping satyr carrying an Eros on his shoulders. The god plays a lyre. The ground is uneven. A sash above suggests that the setting is the sanctuary after a successful performance. The torches indicate that it is already evening. On the reverse are a satyr and maenad.

The Group of Louvre K 240 leads directly into Paestan and especially the work of Asteas. Indeed Trendall at one point called the last 'Proto-Paestan'.⁵⁹ One now needs to take into account also 56 (Figure 14.18): it comprises two joining fragments from the wall of what was probably a calyx-krater. They

⁵⁹ AA. VV. (1994a) 144–6. Another piece transitional to Paestan is the bell-krater in St Petersburg, *RVP* 48 no. 105, pl. 13e–f, on which Herakles torments Apollo. Trendall first gave it to Asteas but then preferred to put it with the Group of Louvre K 240. I have not been able to examine its clay.

were excavated in the Heraion at Gela. They must have been from the central part of the scene and show a white-haired old man moving about (dancing?) and holding a calyx-krater aloft by his left shoulder; a slave approaches from the right, bending forward and with a woman, probably naked, straddling his shoulders, her arms outstretched towards the krater. (The white of the old man's hair and beard has worn away, and so has much of the white above his eyes, below the eyebrows, as it has from the slave.) It is a good and lively piece and it sits well within the Sicilian tradition; yet the drawing seems fairly clearly to be by Asteas whom we know as a Paestan vase-painter. If so, it raises a series of interesting and important questions, such as whether we should now think of his earliest phase as Sicilian or whether this was back-trade from Paestum. The latter seems to me intrinsically somewhat unlikely, but, more importantly, when I examined the fragments, the clay seemed Sicilian rather than Paestan.

Paestan vases of the fourth century are commonly perceived as having lively and colourful decoration, and for this reason and because they are readily recognisable as to fabric, they have been regarded as every bit as mainstream as, say, Tarentine. Students of comedy, myself included, have used those with theatrical subject-matter as good evidence for the nature and subject-matter of comedy. A few years ago, however, Alan Hughes argued that the comic scenes on Paestan vases are unreliable evidence for stage performance in that city in the middle years of the fourth century.⁶⁰ I cannot but agree with him.⁶¹ They seem rather to derive from a memory of comedy as performed and represented on pots in Sicily, created to satisfy what Aristoxenos described as the sad nostalgia of the ethnic Greeks in this Lucanian town for their cultural past.⁶² It is significant that if one tracks their representations of comic actors chronologically, they develop from 'realistic' (i.e. at the point of take-off from Sicilian) to more and more eccentric, notably in the 'skirt' added to the bottom of the actors' jerkins.⁶³ That is, they develop in the painter's handling, without direct reference to the stage. The comic scenes in Paestan are in fact relatively few in number: the total by Asteas, Python and followers is only six as opposed to thirty-two or more showing a comic actor in company with Dionysos and a further five showing comic actors in other contexts or alone.⁶⁴ It is the link to Dionysos and the way that actors were shown as the equivalent of satyrs in their relationship to the god that seems to have been evocative. As Cipriani,

⁶⁰ Hughes (2003). ⁶¹ See my comments in Green (2008) 214. ⁶² Athen. 14.632.

⁶³ One thinks particularly of the vase in the Vatican with Zeus and Hermes at a girl's window, where the costume of Hermes is very eccentric.

⁶⁴ See Appendix B at the end of this chapter.



Figure 14.19 Bell-krater attributed to the Libation Painter, third quarter of the fourth century BC. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria.

for example, has shown, the god was important in the life of the city from at least the fifth century, even though the city was dominated by a native warrior group from about 440 BC at the latest.⁶⁵

Material from the rest of Campania is mixed. I know of only one fully convincing comic scene, attributed to the Libation Painter. It is found on the bell-krater in Melbourne (57, Figure 14.19), and comprises a wreathed

⁶⁵ See especially Cipriani (2000). Note also Cipriani *et al.* (1996). See further Asheri (1999).

man carrying a torch and bending forward to a flute-girl who is off-stage, in the orchestra; there is an older man further back to the right, remonstrating. At the left is a doorway. One could guess it depicts a journey home, after the party. The scene is set on a stage with steps (four risers) at the front and curtains between posts to either side. It belongs in the third quarter of the fourth century. It is of a style that had gone out of fashion in Taranto almost a generation earlier, and we should note that the stage is still a low one; on the other hand the actors' phalloi are relatively small, not far behind the fashion in major centres. The same painter was responsible for another bell-krater (58) that shows an actor as a wreathed reveller carrying torches, followed by a non-theatrical female (maenad?) playing the pipes. He too is fairly up-to-date in his costume. To judge by the phiale shown hanging in the field and the plant growing between the two figures, the setting is a sanctuary. For the rest, and there are not all that many of them, it is difficult to see any consistent tradition. Many show figures outside the theatre in company with maenads or other figures that one could consider Dionysiac, or individual figures who seem to have been depicted for their grotesque qualities as much as any clear link to the stage. The bell-krater by the Parrish Painter in Naples may be regarded as a typical example (59, Figure 14.20). There are three men, one of them dressed as a warrior, looking at a dog seated on a plinth. They are scattered over a rocky landscape; they are stage-naked, with gross long phalloi; they are given white sleeves but no leggings; their faces correspond to no known mask-types. They are grotesques echoing theatre. In such a context, it is interesting to consider a bell-krater decorated by the Siamese/Majewski Painter (60, Figure 14.21). It has a version of a comic actor in procession with two cloaked women. From a traditional point of view the women can be read as maenads, whatever they meant to the painter and his public. The actor-figure has a wreath about his head and his arms are enveloped in his clothing, as if he were derived from a representation of an actor as a respectable old man. His mask is not of a recognisable type although the length of the beard and the baldness are prominent features. The lower drapery is shortened so as to show off a long, ungainly phallos. At the same time we seem to be shown that he has footwear and that his leggings terminate above the ankle, as they should. The women's clothing echoes that found on the draped youths of the reverses of many of his vases.

Trendall commented in a discussion that included this vase: 'The Siamese Painter's naïve treatment of his subjects and primitive style of drawing suggest that he was probably a native artist imitating late Campanian red-figure; it is difficult to believe that he was an actual



Figure 14.20 Bell-krater attributed to the Parrish Painter, third quarter of the fourth century BC. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

Greek.⁶⁶ Six years later, in Trendall (1989) 162, he commented that the painter's figures 'degenerate into something that can hardly be called human'. On our vase they could not be said to have gone that far, but they do seem like tokens. Ethnicity is a difficult subject, and we cannot of course know how the painter regarded himself, or if indeed he would have found it a relevant question. One observes that he uses a perfectly good bell-krater, that his glaze is competent by the standards of that time and

⁶⁶ LCS Suppl. 3, 165. In this respect his comments echo those of Beazley (1943), 102–3) who put them in his section G. 'Barbarized' with the comment that 'this is not too hard a word for the vases in this section', while making it clear that he was not implying that they were the work of barbarians.



Figure 14.21 Bell-krater attributed to the Siamese/Majewski Painter. Naples, priv. coll.

place. In this respect too it is interesting that the painter used a preliminary sketch, so he did not achieve this effect simply by being casual. It must, rather, be to do with perceived aims within the cultural context of Capua at the end of the fourth century. They were no longer the aims we traditionally associate with Greek culture but reflected those of a different, local population. We should perhaps also note that by his facial expression, the figure also communicates directly with the viewer in a way that is not totally unsophisticated.

Scenes of comedy disappear from vases of the main western centres, that is Taranto and Sicily, in the decade 330–320 BC, and they do not last very much longer even in Campania. It is never easy to provide rational explanations for changes in fashion, but in this case there are two factors that seem to me important. The first involves a remarkable change in practice throughout the Greek world, and that is the disappearance of narrative scenes from painted pottery in general. It is a change that is all the more radical when we recall that it had been a Greek (and particularly Athenian) habit since the Geometric period. It may be taken as reflecting a cultural shift equally

as important as that which saw its introduction. The second may involve a reaction to a change in the nature of Greek comedy: the movement away from physical action towards a more subtle interplay of characters. The latter is more difficult to depict. This development went hand-in-hand with the development of physiognomics on the one side and in the attribution of character to individual masks.⁶⁷ It is for these sorts of reasons, surely, that we see a sudden popularity of vases, both red-figure and Gnathia, that are decorated solely with masks.

⁶⁷ On physiognomics, see Kiilerich (1988), Krierer (1988), and most importantly, Krien (1955). On the attribution of character to masks, see also Green (2003), with refs.

Appendix A | Checklist of vases discussed

References are selective. All items are in the red-figure technique unless otherwise stated.

Attic

1 Athens, Benaki Museum 30890; fragmentary oinochoe; pres. ht. 13.5 cm. Pingiatoglou (1992); Fotopoulos and Delivorrias (1997) figs. 208–9 (details, colour); Moraw and Nölle (2002) 89 fig. 123. Chorus of males dancing to either side of a piper below a row of boukrania. c. 380–360 BC.

2 London 1898.2–27.1; bought in Athens; plainware oinochoe; ht. 24.5 cm. Crosby (1955) 82 no. 5, pl. 37a; Bieber (1961) 150 fig. 210; Trendall (1967) 24 no. 9; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) fig. 87; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.5; Green and Handley (1995) 51 fig. 26; *MOMC* 33, AV 10. Man rowing a blue fish, right, his head turned in the direction of movement.

3 Athens, Agora P 23856, from Athens, Agora; fragment of plainware oinochoe; pres. ht. 14 cm. Crosby (1955) 78 no. 1, pl. 34a; Webster (1960) pl. 65, B 2; Trendall (1967) 24 no. 10; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) fig. 82; *MOMC* 33, AV 11. Preserved is the head of Neleus from a scene of Tyro with her sons Pelias and Neleus. Inscribed [ΠΕΛΙΑ]Σ ΤΥΡΩ ΝΗΛΕΥΣ. The Neleus figure has wild, unkempt hair and pink face.

4 Athens, Agora P 23900, from Athens, Agora; plainware oinochoe; ht. 24.5 cm. Crosby (1955) 79 no. 2, pll. 35a and 37b; Webster (1960) pl. 65, B 3; Trendall (1967) 24 no. 11; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) fig. 83; *MOMC* 33, AV 12. Parasite running left with oinochoe, stick and lyre (?)

5 Athens, Agora P 23907, from Athens, Agora; plainware oinochoe; ht. 24.5 cm. Crosby (1955) 80 no. 3, pll. 35b and 36a; Webster (1960) pl. 65, B 4; Bieber (1961) 50 fig. 209; Trendall (1967) 24 no. 12; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) fig. 84a–c; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.6 (with wrong

inv. number); *MOMC* 33, AV 13. Obeliaphoroi: two males running right with meat or a loaf on a spit. The one in front wears an exomis but is barefoot; the one behind wears exomis, cap (pilos) and boots. They have black unkempt hair and straggly beards.

6 Athens, Agora P 23985, from Athens, Agora; fragments of plainware oinochoe; max. dim. c. 15.5 cm. Crosby (1955) 81 no. 4, pl. 34c; Webster (1960) pl. 65, B 5; Trendall (1967) 24 no. 13; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) fig. 86; *MOMC* 34, AV 14. Two figures stage-naked and gesticulating to each other. Inscribed]ONYΣΟΣ ΦΟΡ[.

7 Paris, Louvre L 9 (N 3408), from Cyrene; oinochoe; ht. 22 cm. Trendall (1967) 21 no. 3; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.2; Robertson (1992) 250 fig. 255; AA. VV (1994a) 17 fig. 2; Maffre (2000) 291 fig. 15a–c (colour); *MOMC* 32, AV 6; *ARV*² 1335, 34; *Paral.* 522; *Addenda*² 365. Apotheosis of Herakles in centaur-chariot driven by Nike. The chariot is led by a figure carrying torches. Nikias Painter; late fifth century.

8 Athens, BS 518. Vlasto; from Anavyssos; oinochoe; ht. 21.2 cm. Caputo (1933–4); Bieber (1961) 48 fig. 202; Trendall (1967) 20 no. 1; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) fig. 76; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.1; *MOMC* 31, AV 4; Hamilton (1978); Schmidt (1995); Hughes (2006) (with new photographs); *ARV*² 1215, 1. Dancing Perseus on a stage, watched by two seated figures. Group of the Perseus Dance; c. 420–415 BC.

9 Athens, Agora P 10798, from Athens, Agora; fragments of a cup. Webster (1960) 279 no. B 1, pl. 67; Trendall (1967) 22–3 no. 8; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) fig. 75; Moore (1997) 326 no. 1449, pl. 136; *MOMC* 31, AV 3; *ARV*² 945, 28. I: comic actor standing to right. Painter of Heidelberg 211. To be dated about 430 BC or a little earlier.

10 Castulo (Linares, Jaén) 1309, from Baños de la Muela, t. xvi; bell-krazer; ht. 26.6 cm. Blázquez (1975) 192–3, fig. 108, pll. 36–7; Domínguez and Sánchez (2001) 295 no. 755, 412 fig. 168 (drawing). Four comic actors dancing to the pipe, all male. In the centre, (beardless?) man in short chiton, frontal, dancing to the piping of a figure wearing a short cloak. To the left a (beardless) figure with torch running away and looking back, wearing cloak; at right, bearded figure with right hand raised. Perhaps about 380–370 BC. Very worn and the detail difficult to make out. McPhee (*Hesperia* 66 (1997) 132 and n. 66) observes that the draped figures on the reverse

exhibit a stylistic affinity to the reverse-figures of the Uppsala Painter (ARV² 1436–7).

11 Naples, priv. coll. (1), inv. I/A43; bell-krater; ht. 33 cm. Schauenburg (2003) 27–9, pl. 9. Four actors moving right, the central pair as obeliaphoroi, with spotted, sleeved tights and rolled-up phalloi. Three of the four have soft boots painted in added white. Attributed by McPhee to the Telos Painter; c. 380–370 BC. The drawing and execution rather summary.

12 Sant' Agata dei Goti, former coll. Mustilli, from South Italy; bell-krater. Wieseler (1851) pl. ix, 5; Bieber (1917) 47 fig. 18 (drawing); *MOMC* 61, AV 15; ARV² 1432. Three men, youth and girl piper; the men and the youth wreathed and wearing spotted, sleeved tights and phalloi. They carry a cake (?), sash and stick. Probably by the Hare Hunt Painter; c. 380–370 BC.

13 Athens 17752; Oinochoe; ht. 10.5 cm. Karouzou (1946) 132 ff., figs. 9–10; Breitholtz (1960) 194, fig. 18; Trendall (1967) 21 no. 5; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 212, fig. 81; *MOMC* 32, AV 9. Seated child between a child dressed as a comic actor moving from left and another child running up from right. End of the fifth century. The seated child wears elaborate clothing reminiscent of that of a piper; he sits against clothing on a footstool and holds a chous.

14 St Petersburg ΦΑ 1869.47.47; from Phanagoria (Taman); oinochoe. Breitholtz (1960) 192–3, fig. 16; Bieber (1961) 45 fig. 184; Trendall (1967) 22 no. 6; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.3; Pickard-Cambridge (1968) fig. 78; *MOMC* 32, AV 8. Four youths with comic masks and one as a piper. The three central figures dressed as actors (one cloaked), the outer two in elaborate dress. The cloaked youth holds a mask which seems to be seen from the back: it is shown as if grey-haired. Early fourth century.

Lucanian (Metapontine)

15 Berlin F 3043, from Apulia; calyx-krater; ht. 25.5 cm, **Figure 14.1**. Bieber (1920) 152 no. 154, pl. 85d; Bieber (1961) 140 fig. 513; Trendall (1967) 49 no. 75; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.15; *LCS* 43 no. 212, pl. 16, 5–6. Slave held by a rope about his neck and beaten by another slave; above, mask/head of slave holding nose. Amykos Painter; end of the fifth century. Furtwängler already saw it as Lucanian.

16 Metaponto 29062, from Metaponto; fragmentary skyphos; ht. 12.3 cm. D'Andria (1975) 403 fig. 52, no. 163; *Magna Grecia* iv, 66 fig. 91 (Barra Bagnasco); *LCS Suppl.* iii.64 no. D 63. Naked slave standing frontal, stick in left hand. Dolon Painter; early fourth century.

17 Metaponto 29340, from Metaponto; fragmentary skyphos; ht. 12 cm. D'Andria (1975) 402 fig. 51a, no. 164; *LCS Suppl.* iii.64, no. D 64. A: Ixion on the wheel. Clearly comic from the costume but the head not preserved. B: woman at pounder (not known if comic). Dolon Painter; early fourth century.

18 Whereabouts unknown (once Freiburg, market); bell-krater; ht. 35 cm, **Figure 14.2**. Galerie Günter Puhze, *Kunst der Antike* 11 (n.d. (1995)) no. 205 (colour ill.); Puhze calendar for May 1995 (detail). Actor as comic slave with satyr and actor as papposilenos escorting maenads. Amykos Painter or his circle; end of the fifth century.

19 New York 1958.13.1.13.1; fragmentary calyx-krater; max. ht. 22.5 cm. Trendall (1967) 94 no. xx; *LCS* 105 no. 551, pl. 54, 2. Aedicula with Dionysos and Ariadne at symposium with satyr; tympanon and mask suspended above, the mask framed by a sash. Close to the Dolon Painter; c. 400 BC.

20 New York 1924.97.104; calyx-krater; ht. 30.6 cm. *AJA* 56 (1952) 193–5, pl. 32 (Beazley); Trendall (1967) 53–4 no. 84; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.13; Schmidt (1998) pl. 5, 2 and pl. 6, 1; Maffre (2000) 306 fig. 28; Csapo (2001) 32 fig. 16; Taplin (2007a) 13 fig. 5 (colour); *RVAp* i, 46 no. 3/7. Capture of a thief before Scythian policeman; woman with the evidence. Above, a slave-mask. A youth labelled TRAGOIDOS (τραγῳδός) standing above, left. On the stage a columned porch (Ionic); the stage supported by posts. The old man in the centre had white for his hair and beard, washed over with pinkish-red. Tarporley Painter; soon after 400 BC.

21 London 1849.6–20.13 (F 151), said to be from Apulia; bell-krater; ht. 37.4 cm, **Figure 14.3**. Wieseler (1853) pl. ix, 13; Bieber (1920) pl. 145 no. 109, 82; Trendall (1967) 35 no. 37; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.35; Taplin (1993a) pl. 12, no. 6; Green and Handley (1995) 54 fig. 28 (colour); Kossatz-Deissmann (2000) 199 fig. 9; Green (2001) 44 fig. 3; *RVAp* i, 100 no. 4/252. Slave (Xanthias) and an old man pushing the old man Chiron up onto the stage. Nymphs (inscr.) looking on, also wearing masks, cloaked

youth (wreathed, maskless) at the right. A travel-pack of bedroll, yoke and situla already rests on the stage. McDaniel Painter; about 380 BC.

22 Bari 2970, from Bitonto; bell-krater; ht. 31 cm. *Ausonia* 2 (1907) 245–51, figs. 3–5 (Romagnoli); Bieber (1920) 141 no. 103, pl. 78; Trendall (1967) 27 no. 17; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.20; De Juliis (1983) pl. 40, 2; Sena Chiesa and Arslan (2004) 266 no. 259 (ill.). Visit to Zeus Ammon (?). Old man with stick and wearing pilos mounting steps of stage towards seated figure (Zeus?) who holds a bird (eagle?) by its neck (he seems to sit on a stool); to the right, a slave with stick, bedroll, basket and situla. On a stage supported by columns with curtains between; staircase. Branch on stage perhaps intended as a palm. Unattributed; second quarter of the fourth century.

23 New York 63.21.5; bell-krater. Trendall (1967) 93 no. xiii; *MTS*² 78, TV 30; Trendall (1988) 140 no. 1, pl. 15, 1; *RVSIS* figs. 102–3; Revermann and Wilson (2008) 441 fig. 19.1 (Lissarrague); *RVAp* I, 46 no. 3/2. Dionysos with thyrsos in right hand and mask (SS) in left, standing beside a young horned satyr (satyr-Pan), who is dipping an oinochoe into a bell-krater on a pedestal. Tarporley Painter; early fourth century.

24 London 1836.2–24.175 (F 163), said to be from Apulia; bell-krater; **Figure 14.4.** *BSR* 11 (1929) pl. 13; Borda (1966) 42 fig. 32; Trendall (1967) 91 no. vii; *MTS*² 78, TV 29; Trendall (1976) pl. 6b; *RVAp* I, 47 no. 3/12. Youth holding mask (S) in his left hand, about to be crowned by Nike; to right, horned satyr (satyr-Pan) with bird on right hand. Tarporley Painter; early fourth century.

25 Once Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.29; bell-krater; ht. 37 cm. Taplin (1993a) pl. 9, no. 1; AA. VV. (1994a) 125–8 no. 56 (colour ill.); Green (1994) 46, fig. 2.21; Schmidt (1998) pl. 7, 1–2; Green (2001) 52 fig. 12; *RVAp* Suppl. II, 7–8 no. 1/124, pl. 1, 3. Older and younger choregoi instructing Aigisthos under the supervision of Pyrrhias (wearing slave mask). Aigisthos has come through a door. On a stage with posts at each end and a stairway in the centre. Choregos Painter; c. 380 BC.

26 Milan, Museo Civico Archeologico A.0.9.2841, from Ruvo; bell-krater; ht. 33 cm. Heydemann (1884); Trendall (1967) 38 no. 45, pl. 2a; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.18; Pugliese Carratelli (1983) figs. 623–4; Taplin (1993a) pl. 12, no. 5; Green (2001) 47 fig. 5; *RVAp* Suppl. II, 7–8 no. 1/123. White-haired man (Philotimides) picking up a floral wreath, and woman

(Charis) eating from tray; slave (Xanthias) hiding cake in tunic. Doorway at left. On a stage supported by three columns. Choregos Painter; c. 380 BC. Formerly Ruvo, coll. Caputi, then Milan, coll. Moretti.

27 Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Art Museums TL 33186 (on loan from Dept. of Classics, A. C. McDaniel Coll.); bell-krater; ht. 29.2 cm, **Figure 14.5**. Bromberg (1959) pll. 1–2; Trendall (1967) 30 no. 24; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.16; Kossatz-Deissmann (2000) 201 fig. 13; *RVAp* I, 99 no. 4/244. Old woman welcoming man in front of open door (on the wall above, a slave-mask). The man wears a headband (?) or fillet and appears to have something round his neck as well as objects in the fold of his cloak. Door and column. Low stage (without supports). McDaniel Painter; c. 380 BC. Once coll. Hirsch, 703.

28 Würzburg H 4689; bell-krater; ht. 28.8 cm, **Figure 14.6**. Trendall (1967) 47 no. 67, pl. 3d; *CVA* (4) pl. 3, 1–4; Sinn and Wehgartner (2001) 112–13 no. 40 (colour ill.); *RVAp* I, 99 no. 4/245, pl. 34, 6. White-haired old man bringing spear out of house to slave dressed up as Amazon; open door to left. On a low stage supported by two posts. McDaniel Painter; c. 380–370 BC.

29 Catania inv. 1770 (Biscari 735), from Camarina; bell-krater; ht. 27.4 cm. Wieseler (1851) pl. ix, 9; *RM* 15 (1900) 268–9 fig. 2 (drawing, Rizzo); Bieber (1920) 143 no. 107, fig. 127; Libertini (1930) no. 735, pl. 83; Trendall (1967) 31 no. 25; *RVAp* I, 100, no. 4/250. Herakles with club bringing Kerkopes in cages to Zeus, seated, wearing polos and fillet, holding sceptre; altar, boukranion with festoon above. Comparable with the work of the McDaniel Painter; c. 380–370 BC.

30 Boston 69.951, from Pisticci; bell-krater; ht. 28.6 cm, **Figure 14.7**. Vermeule (1970) 628–9 figs. 103–4; Taplin (1993a) pl. 11, no. 3; Padgett *et al.* (1993) 68–70 no. 13 (ill.) and colour pl. v (with refs.); Schmidt (1998) pl. 5, 1; Maffre (2000) 306 fig. 29; *RVAp* I, 100 no. 4/251. Naked male with staff before naked old man; behind the old man, a carrying yoke with basket containing a kid, a dead goose, etc.; behind the younger male, a herm with clothing on it (Hermes). On a low stage with three supports. McDaniel Painter; c. 380–370 BC.

31 Metaponto 297053, from Pisticci, S. Maria del Casale, t. 2; bell-krater; **Figure 14.8**. De Siena (2001) 99 fig. 104 (colour, in mirror image); Green (2001) 50 fig. 9. Male wearing pilos talking to a white-haired woman

standing in a doorway at right, holding forward an object in his hand; to left, a middle-aged female (hetaira) displaying herself. Doorway and column. McDaniel Painter. Note that there are no phalloi visible in this scene.

32 Bari 8014; bell-krater; ht. 35 cm, **Figure 14.9**. Trendall (1967) 28 no. 20, pl. 1a; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.27; *LIMC* iv, Helene *185; De Juliis (1983) pl. 40, 1; *RVAp* i, 266 no. 10/45. Woman between male with stick and beardless male with thyrsos and wreath. On a stage supported by three posts. Cotugno Painter; c. 370–360 BC.

33 Taranto 107937, from Taranto; fragmentary bell-krater; ht. 38.5 cm, **Figure 14.12**. Lo Porto (1964) 16–17 figs. 5–6; Trendall (1967) 44–5 no. 60, pl. 1b; *RVAp* i, 266 no. 10/46. Consultation of Apollo at Delphi: man with chest and spray; Apollo seated; woman (Pythia?); white-haired old man with stick and a fine cloak; above the scene, a mask of an old woman. One tree on stage and another to the left. On a stage supported by three posts. Cotugno Painter; second quarter of the fourth century.

34 Madrid 1999/99/122; bell-krater; ht. 28.3 cm, **Figure 14.10**. Cabrera Bonet (2003) 359–60 no. 128 (ill.) (Olmos). Slave conversing with youth and older woman; thurible standing between them, sash hanging above. On a low stage with three simple supports. Cotugno Painter; c. 370–360 BC.

35 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.113; bell-krater; ht. 34 cm, **Figure 14.11**. AA. VV. (1994a) 131–5 no. 58 (colour ill.); Green (2001) 48 fig. 8; *RVAp* Suppl. ii, Postscript 564, no. 10/46a. Zeus with bird-sceptre and wearing polos approaching eagerly from right towards old woman and slave. On a low stage supported by three posts. Cotugno Painter; second quarter of the fourth century.

36 Boston 00.363; Gnathia; calyx-krater; ht. 29.8 cm. Bulle (1930) 30–1 fig. 19a–b; Bieber (1961) 138 fig. 502b; Trendall (1967) 79 no. 177; Green (1986) 117 fig. 3a–b; Padgett *et al.* (1993) 191–2 no. 108 (ill.) and colour pl. xix (with refs.); Maffre (2000) 299 fig. 20a–b. Old man with stick running to left and dropping fruit from his cloak; fillet about his head. Middle of the fourth century. His cloak is white, his chitoniskos purple-red, his tights pale yellow. There is a purple-red fillet tied about his head. His face is reddish brown. He is shown as naked under his cloak.

37 Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, loan; Gnathia calyx-krater; ht 38.5 cm. Cambitoglou, Aellen and Chamay (1986) 244–5, colour-ill. on

p. 27. Reveller with cloak about shoulders and elaborate wreath, sandals, carrying torch and hydria with sprays and festoons. Perhaps by the Compiègne Painter; mid-fourth century.

38 London 1895.8–18.9 (F 543), from Fasano; Gnathia calyx-krater; ht. 28.4 cm, **Figure 14.13**. CVA (1) pl. 2 (38), 2; Bulle (1930) 26 fig. 11, left, and 29 fig. 17; Trendall (1967) 79 no. 178; Green and Handley (1995) 67 fig. 42 (colour); Maffre (2000) 297 fig. 17 (colour). Cook carrying forward table with cake, in sanctuary (boukrania above, bushes). Compiègne Painter; mid-fourth century.

39 New York 1951.11.2; Gnathia calyx-krater; ht. 31.5 cm. CVA (Vienna, Matsch) pl. 18; Bulle (1930) 30 fig. 18a–b; Bieber (1961) 142 fig. 525; Trendall (1967) 78 no. 180. Reveller wearing elaborate wreath and carrying torch and long cloak. Compiègne Painter; mid-fourth century.

40 Tampa (Florida), coll. Zewadski; Gnathia calyx-krater; **Figure 14.14**. Green (1994) frontispiece; Csapo (2001) 26 fig. 10. Old man wearing cloak and pilos and carrying a stick, moving left. Above, a rosette between boukrania, and the inscription 'Derkylos'. Soon after the middle of the fourth century.

41 Vienna iv 1042, from Lecce; Gnathia bell-krater; ht. 42.5 cm. Von Lücken (1923) pl. 120; Bulle (1930) 34 figs. 24a–b; Trendall (1967) 78 no. 174; *BICS* 27 (1980) 130, pl. 9c (Green); Bernhard-Walcher (1991–2) 43–5 figs. 23, 26, 28, 32, p. 122 no. 63 (ill.). Old man leaning on staff, right arm akimbo and with stick in left hand. Painter of the Vienna bell-kraters; perhaps third quarter of the fourth century. Provincial Apulian.

42 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.118; Gnathia situla; max. ht. 25.5 cm. AA. VV. (1994a) 142–4 no. 63 (colour ill.) Man moving right but turning back, his right arm down and fingers outstretched; he wears a yellow cloak and an elaborate wreath; ivy frame above. Perhaps by the Konnakis Painter; mid-fourth century.

43 Taranto 4646, from Taranto, Contrada Madre Grazia (22/4/1910); Gnathia oinochoe; ht. 25 cm. Drago (1936) 389 fig. 9; Wuilleumier (1939) pl. 48, 3; CVA (1) pl. 15 (743), 3; Trendall (1967) 81 no. 183; Pugliese Caratelli (1983) fig. 645 (colour). Man wrapped in cloak wearing polos and carrying torch: Zeus? Mid-fourth century.

44 Berlin 1969.7; Gnathia stemless cup; ht. lip 3.8 cm, **Figure 14.15**. Greifenhagen (1975); Maffre (2000) 297 fig. 18 (colour). Old man with torch and oinochoe (inscr. Philopotes), moving to left between plants. c. 330–320 BC. A good example of the mask type.

45 Whereabouts unknown, formerly coll. Geddes, Melbourne; oinochoe; **Figure 14.16**. Unpublished.

Sicilian

46 Madrid 11026; calyx-krater; ht. 31 cm. Leroux (1912) 223–4 no. 388, pl. 49; Trendall (1967) 53 no. 82; Olmos Romera (1978) 85 fig. 41; *LCS* 204, 30; *RVP* 25 no. 6. Zeus carrying thunderbolt and walking with stick in front of slave carrying offering-basket and askos, and a hetaira. Dirce Painter; c. 380–360 BC.

47 Lentini, from Lentini; calyx-krater; ht. 49 cm. Zevi Fiorentini (1942) (with earlier refs); Trendall (1967) 51 no. 79; Pugliese Carratelli (1985) fig. 294 (colour); *LCS* 596 no. 74, pl. 231, 3 (drawing). Herakles and young woman in a sanctuary: in the centre, Herakles moving to the right, away from a woman after pulling back her himation. She has the mask and style of a pseudokore. At the left, by an altar and statue-bearing column is a man in short chiton and himation, turned away but looking back. At the right, and watching the centre, is a white-haired old woman. Four Ionic columns along the back of the scene, and the whole on a stage with simple posts at the ends and a central stairway (eight risers), thymiateria and pendants between. Manfria Painter; c. 340–330 BC.

48 Milan, Museo Teatrale alla Scala inv. 1342 (749), from Centuripe; skyphoid krater; ht. 32.3 cm. Bieber (1920) 144–5 no. 108, pl. 81; Zevi Fiorentini (1942) 47 fig. 6; Adamesteanu (1958b) pl. 2, 8; *EAA* III, 713 fig. 873 (Trendall); Bieber (1961) 134 fig. 489; Trendall (1967) 57–8 no. 95; *RVSIS* ill. 424; Sena Chiesa and Arslan (2004) 69 fig. 1 (colour); *LCS* 595 no. 68, pl. 231, 1. Herakles with right hand to head between a young woman and a male in cloak holding caduceus (Hermes?). On a stage with post supports and central staircase; columns at each end of the stage. Manfria Group; c. 340–330 BC. The illustration in Zevi Fiorentini (1942) is the best of the reproductions.

49 Gela 643, from Manfria, loc. Mangiatoia; skyphoid krater fragments; ht. as rest. 21.8 cm, **Figure 14.17**. Orlandini (1953) 155 fig. 1; Adamesteanu (1958b) pl. 1; Trendall (1967) 59 no. 98; Sena Chiesa and Arslan (2004) 169 no. 138 (colour ill.); *LCS* 595 no. 69, pl. 231, 2. Old man leaning on stick before slave seated on altar his legs turned away and his hands clasped to his chest. They are shown on stage, between columns; by the altar, a tree or shrub. Manfria Group; c. 340–330 BC. Orlandini (1953) and Adamesteanu (1958b) show the fragments before the restoration in plaster and include the whole scene; Orlandini also provides the best description. Adamesteanu (1958b) discusses the context in which the fragments were found.

50 Messina, Soprintendenza 11039, from Messina, via S. Marta (1989) t. 33; calyx-krater; ht. 44 cm. Spigo (1992) pl. iv (colour); Spigo (1992–3) 34–9, pll. 32, 2–3 and 33, 1; Bernabò Brea (2001) 58 fig. 48; Green (2002) 114 fig. 23; Green (2006) 152 fig. 5. A: young woman, youth, and a slave dressed as a female and holding out his hands; watching from the right, an old man with staff. In the background, four columns, and in the centre, a thymiaterion. The young man looks from the supposed woman to the real woman, and back. Manfria Painter; third quarter of the fourth century. The young man seems to have had a staff, shown in white, and just visible between him and the girl.

51 Gela 8255–6, from Gela; skyphoid krater fragments; est. diam. 23 cm. Orlandini (1953) 155–7 figs. 3–4; Trendall (1967) 50–1 no. 77; Pugliese Carratelli (1983) fig. 630 (colour); Panvini (1998) 112 (colour); Hughes (2003) 284 fig. 1 (the fr. with altar, 8255); Sena Chiesa and Arslan (2004) 158 no. 124 (colour ill.; fr 8256; wrongly angled); *RVP* 47 no. 102. On the one fragment (8256): old man (L) by door, leaning on stick; on the other (8255), leg and foot and part of another crossed leg of male seated on altar, to right part of leg of a further man standing with stick. Front edge of stage decorated with maeander; curtain below. Painter of Louvre K 240; mid-fourth century. Orlandini's is the definitive description. The fragments are not from a calyx-krater as suggested in Sena Chiesa and Arslan: a fragment that seemed to be from the cul of such a vase is alien and has now been detached.

52 Germany, priv. coll. Situla fragment. 12.1 × 13.5 cm. Schauenburg (1975) pl. 36a; *RVP* 47 no. 104, pl. 13d. Old man beside another figure (Paris?). Painter of Louvre K 240; towards the middle of the fourth century.

53 Syracuse 29966, from Syracuse (Epipoli); rhyton; pres; ht. 19.5 cm. Trendall (1967) 67–8 no. 134 (with refs.); Wescoat (1989) 102–3 no. 22 and colour ill.; *RVP* 47 no. 103. White-haired old man leaning on stick talking to wreathed slave who holds up a mirror with his right hand for the old man to look into, left hand on hip. Painter of Louvre K 240; c. 350–340 BC. Perhaps noteworthy that it is the slave who wears a wreath, not the old man.

54 Lipari 927, from Lipari, t. 367; calyx-krater; ht. 39.7 cm. Trendall (1967) 52 no. 80, pl. 6b; Trendall and Webster (1971) iv.11; Pugliese Carratelli (1983) fig. 629; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier (1987) 34 (colour ill.); *RVSIS* ill. 340; *RVP* 46 no. 99, pl. 12f. Older and younger man watching acrobat in presence of Dionysos; busts of actors wearing female masks at windows above. Dionysos holds pipes in his left hand as well as the thyrsos; he presumably holds them for the girl while she performs. On a stage with curtains below. Group of Louvre K 240; c. 360–350 BC.

55 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.117; calyx-krater; ht. 37.5 cm. *RVSIS* ill. 341; AA. VV. (1994a) 144–6 no. 64 (colour ill.); *RVP* 46 no. 101, pl. 13b. Old man (exomis, barefooted) carrying torches in procession with Dionysos and a piping satyr carrying an Eros on his shoulders. Group of Louvre K 240; towards the middle of the fourth century. Formerly coll. Fleischman, F 94.

56 Gela 36056, from Gela (Heraion); two joining frs; pres; ht. 7.7 cm, **Figure 14.18**. Hughes (2003) 286 fig. 2; Sena Chiesa and Arslan (2004) 158 no. 124 (colour ill.; wrongly angled). Man dancing and holding calyx-krater aloft by his left shoulder; slave bending forward and with a woman probably naked, straddling his shoulders, her arms outstretched towards the krater. From a bell- or perhaps more likely a calyx-krater. Mid-fourth century BC. Asteas.

Campanian

57 Melbourne, National Gallery of Art, D 14/1973; bell-krater; ht. 37 cm, **Figure 14.19**. Trendall (1975); *RVSIS* ill. 304; Taplin (1993a) pl. 15, no. 13; Kossatz-Deissmann (2000) 198 fig. 6; Green (2006) 153 fig. 6; *LCS Suppl.* III, 201 no. 3/337a. Male wreathed, carrying torch and bending forward to flute-girl who is off-stage; old man further back, remonstrating. On stage

with curtain between posts, stairway in centre; doorway at left. Libation Painter; third quarter of the fourth century.

58 Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte B 602; bell-krater; ht. 31.2 cm. Schaal (1923) 78–9, pl. 55b; Trendall (1967) 31 no. 26; CVA (3) pl. 36; LCS 410 no. 337. Wreathed reveller carrying torches, followed by non-theatrical female (maenad?) playing the pipes. Libation Painter; c. 340–320 BC.

59 Naples H 3368 (inv. 81926), from Paestum; bell-krater; ht. 35 cm, **Figure 14.20**. *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1871, 99–102, pl. G (Wieseler); Bieber (1961) 136 fig. 497; Trendall (1967) 39–40 no. 48, pl. 1d; De Caro (1994) 74 (colour ill.); LCS 251 no. 2/155. Three men, one of them dressed as a warrior, looking at a dog apparently seated on a plinth; dotted, uneven groundline. Parrish Painter; third quarter of the fourth century. De Caro mistakenly gives the inv. number as 81925.

60 Naples, priv. coll. 494; bell-krater; ht. 40.2 cm, **Figure 14.21**. LCS Suppl. III, 168 no. 2/901a, pl. 19, 2. Version of a comic actor, wreathed, moving left between two cloaked women. Siamese/Majewski Painter; later fourth century.

Appendix B | Some statistics on comic vases

	Scene	Single figure	With others	Mask in scene	Mask as principal decoration
Attic	37	3		1	1
Corinthian	5				
Olympian	1				
Lucanian	1	2	1	3	3
Apulian	83	48	10	9	291
Sicilian	35		2	3	
Campanian	8	4	12	6	2
Paestan	7	3	38	29	2
Latin		1			
Lost, unknown fabric	3	1			

General notes

These are as unreliable as most statistics. Fabrics are not always certain (and Paestan vs. Sicilian is a particular problem), and most of the South Italian and Sicilian groupings include more than one centre of manufacture, and thereby potentially different traditions. I have often counted fragments of vessels as ‘scenes’ if they seem likely to be, but my judgement may be wrong. No account is taken of quality so that, for example, a group of figures in Campanian that is remote from theatre performance may nonetheless be counted as a ‘scene’. I have attempted to exclude caricatures.

Particular notes

‘Scene’ in Attic includes choral groups, even if off-stage, and groups of actors in festive procession. ‘Single figures’ are actors in costume: some seem directly derived from a particular performance but others probably stand for Comedy in a more general way, but to qualify as a ‘Scene’ there

have to be multiple figures interacting. 'Single figures' in Apulian includes the fourteen gutti with copies of three scenes in relief. The 'Single figure' in Latin is Gnathia, derived from Tarentine. 'With others' is cases of actors depicted in company with figures who are not actors, e.g. animals fictive or otherwise, females (as maenads), acrobats, Dionysos (as in very many of the Paestan). 'Mask in scene' is cases of masks depicted in scenes that are not directly theatrical: some are with Dionysos relaxing, others are held by his companions, including actors, yet others are in the background of 'Scenes' and are therefore counted under each category. 'Mask as principal Decoration' probably omits a good number that have escaped my attention. In Apulian the total comprises 1 in relief on a black-glaze guttus, 47 red-figure, 237 in Gnathia technique. In other categories those in added paint have been counted alongside those in red-figure. One need hardly add that all this is synthetic, taking no account of chronological period.

15 | The grave's a fine and funny place

Chthonic rituals and comic theater in the Greek West

BONNIE MACLACHLAN

Among the votive finds from chthonic shrines and from tombs in the Greek colonies of Southern Italy and Sicily are thousands of models of actors and paraphernalia belonging to the comic stage. This fact is as hard to explain as it is impossible to ignore. I offer this chapter in an attempt to make inroads in this quest, while refraining from the claim that I have solved the puzzle.

I will argue that the special nature of chthonic rituals, especially those in which *nymphae* (nubile young women) in the Greek West participated, made them a natural venue for parodic performance, a performance practice that fostered an environment in which comic theater flourished.

In order to highlight the connection between the chthonic and the comic in the colonies of the Greek West I will begin with an examination of the material evidence from some relevant sanctuaries and tombs. I will then turn to some remnants from Sicilian literary comedy/mime in light of this evidence, focusing on parodic and serio-comic features. This will be followed by a consideration of the ways in which vase-paintings in the Greek West (particularly in the fourth century BC) attest to a belief that a ritual encounter with the Underworld was an experience that invited a parodying of the mythical and dramatic tradition. Turning finally to the question of *why* this should be, I will introduce some theoretical insights drawn from performance studies and social anthropology.

Dating from the early decades of the fifth century BC and excavated from a South Italian sanctuary located outside the city walls of Epizephyrian Locri came a series of *pinakes*, clay relief tablets perforated at the top so as to be hung in trees or on the walls of a sanctuary whose remains have disappeared.¹ While there are no surviving texts to support the narrative

¹ The *pinakes* were found in a valley between the hills of Mannella and Abbadessa. Orsi (1909) published the finds from the excavation, where he found no evidence for a temple or shrine building. The tablets were studied by Zancani Montuoro (1940, 1954a) and published in a study by Prückner (1968). For recent discussions see Sourvinou-Inwood (1978) and MacLachlan (1995).

represented by the scenes depicted in relief, it is clear that the ritual activity was in honor of Kore/Persephone. A few *pinakes* represent her abduction to the Underworld. In only one scene-type, however, is there evidence of her distress at her sudden departure from her companions.² Most vignettes depict her life as bride and queen in the Underworld. Images of young women in an elaborate room adorning themselves in front of a mirror or cutting a lock of their hair³ provide strong evidence for the *pinakes* serving as *proteleiai*, votives from young Locrian women offered at a prenuptial festival. Aphrodite is represented in several of the tablets, in one type holding out a lotus flower to Hermes, accompanied by Eros.⁴ Her presence adds an erotic valence to the *hieros gamos* of the Underworld couple,⁵ but as consort of Hermes she also reinforces the chthonic nature of this marriage. The awe associated with this divine pair is evident in one *pinax*-scene, where they are depicted inside a temple receiving libations poured on an altar outside by a nuptial couple.⁶ The seriousness of the scene is, however, outrageously undercut by the image carved on the side of the altar where a silen is copulating with a hind. This is not eroticism but transgressive sex.

Inge Nielsen has collected evidence for ritual dramatic performances at religious festivals in ancient Greece, arguing that formal dramatic performances evolved from cultic songs that contained a narrative drawn from the *vita* of the god being honored.⁷ The Locrian *pinakes* may well reflect the text of a cultic hymn/drama, and if so, the tenor would have been quite different from that of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.⁸

² Prückner (1968) Typ 57–9. On a single *pinax*, highly fragmentary, one could argue for the presence of Demeter (Prückner Typ 124). Just the legs of a seated female figure remain, but the possibility that it is the mother goddess could be assumed by the presence of a female figure with torch running toward her. But in the *pinakes* it is the bride-queen Persephone who represents the grain-bearing fertility of the earth, not Demeter. On Prückner Typ 86 the Underworld Queen sits in the foreground beside Hades holding a sheaf of wheat.

³ Prückner (1968) Typ 34–41. ⁴ Prückner (1968) Typ 1.

⁵ Prückner (1968) 63, 68, where Prückner wrongly assumed that the *pinakes* belonged to two separate festivals, one in honor of Persephone, the other of Aphrodite, and that two votive deposits were mixed accidentally. Sourvinou-Inwood (1978) 104.

⁶ Prückner Typ 2. The pair are wearing nuptial wreaths and face the temple with raised hands, apart from the groom's hand that pours the libation.

⁷ Nielsen (2002) 149. Connelly (2007) 106–7 provides inscriptional evidence for the impersonation of divinities during religious rites, which developed into ritual drama. Halliwell (2008) 183 refers to the seamless connection between ritual and (choral) performance with the example of the Aeginetans cited by Herodotus (5.83), honoring the fertility divinities Damia and Auxesia with the jeering and abuse of female choruses under the supervision of male *choregoi*.

⁸ Compare the lusty nature of Locrian songs (*Lokrika aismata*) discussed by Athenaeus (15.697–b). Claiming Clearchus was his source, Athenaeus cites as an example a popular song

There was another site in Locri where prenuptial rituals occurred, the Grotta Caruso, a cave of the nymphs.⁹ The ritual activity began here about 300 BC, 150 years after that at Mannella. Once again, Locrian *nymphae* engaged in performance, this time in honor of mythical *nymphae*, those sexually active creatures who lived in the wild, in woods and springs, were chased by gods or satyrs and at other times went after unsuspecting shepherds and other rustics. As semi-divine creatures they received honors at caves and springs, openings to the Underworld. At the Grotta Caruso, it appears that young Locrian women engaged in a bridal *katabasis*, descending through the cave entrance down some stairs to an underground, spring-fed basin, immersing themselves by a kind of baptism in a pre-Christian rite of transition, inviting death to an old life and birth to a new.¹⁰ That there was a link between the ritual activities here and those at Mannella is indicated by the discovery of busts of Persephone among the finds.¹¹ Nymphs were the focus of the ritual, however, as is indicated by the number of terracotta plaques with a trio of female heads, frequently shown with Pan.¹² The 'death' of the Locrian *nymphae* at the Grotta Caruso, however, was linked to something we don't see in the Christian rite, *comedy*. Several terracotta figures representing comic actors were found among the votive gifts left by the girls (e.g., Figure 15.1). That there may have been dramatic performances as part of this ritual is suggested by the double curtain drawn across the opening of one of the many small models of the cave that were unearthed among the votives.¹³ Given that the clay models of actors were of the comic type, sporting over-sized heads, thick lips and large paunches, it is clear that the dramatic activity in the Grotta was the sort that would provoke laughter.

The intersection of the comic and the chthonic appears to have played a role in the foundation of a permanent theater in Sicilian Syracuse. The

(PMG 853) in which an adulterous woman urges her lover to get out of bed at dawn before her husband returns.

⁹ This was excavated by Arias, who first published the finds in 1941. They have been fully documented in Costabile (1991).

¹⁰ Costabile (1991) 103–5.

¹¹ Some are consistent with the terracotta busts found elsewhere in Sicily, securely identified as Persephone, such as those from Morgantina (Costabile [1991] 127–31). More difficult, acknowledges Costabile, is trying to identify votives that could represent Demeter – as was the case at Mannella.

¹² On the connection between nymphs and Persephone, as represented by votive gifts, see the discussion of Lipari and Morgantina below, with n. 26.

¹³ Arias (1946) 140.



Figure 15.1 West Greek comic figure from the Grotta Caruso, Epizephyrian Locri

extent to which this is reflected in the construction of an early theater near a *temenos* of Apollo Temenitis,¹⁴ or the nymphs,¹⁵ or of Demeter/Kore

¹⁴ See Marconi in this volume. Nielsen (2002) 145; Todisco (2002) 18, 184. According to Diodorus Siculus (14.63) there was a colossal statue of this god (in his chthonic aspect) near the temple of Demeter and Kore, overlooking the theater.

¹⁵ Rizzo (1923) 114–15, Arias (1935) 605–7.

and a larger shrine of the chthonic gods¹⁶ is a vexed question.¹⁷ The theatrical connection with Demeter/Kore was strong during the reign of the Deinomenids, particularly during that of Hieron I (478–467 BC), whose court was host to such prominent playwrights as Aeschylus, to whom he issued an invitation to Syracuse in 476 BC.¹⁸

That the cult of Demeter/Kore dominated the island in the fifth and fourth centuries BC is widely acknowledged. Diodorus (5.4.7) highlights the lascivious nature of the Syracusan festivals of the two goddesses. He describes the ritual celebrating the *katagoge* of Kore as characterized by piety (ἔγνεῖα) and “zeal” (σπουδή). Rites honoring Demeter, on the other hand, Diodorus refers to as a ten-day observance in which participants engaged in coarse banter, *aischrologia*, following (as at Eleusis) the *aition* of Iambe.¹⁹ Malcolm Bell²⁰ points out that Diodorus, despite being Sicilian, is documenting this some 300 years later than the ritual activity, and likely using Timaeus as his source (a Sicilian who spent his adult life in Athens and may have been influenced by the Eleusinian cult). But the *aischrologia* may not have been confined to the Demeter festival. Archaeological evidence, together with written sources, supports Bell’s contention that the western Greeks considered the *theogamy* of Persephone and Hades to be the central feature of the myth. Bell’s caution against considering the Homeric Hymn as the script for all Demeter/Kore rituals is salutary, and his claim has been substantiated by the finds at Locri, for example.

That lascivious banter characterized the Kore/Persephone rites at Syracuse, celebrating her marriage to Hades, is borne out by an important fifth-century find from an urban sanctuary of Kore/Demeter located in Neapolis, a suburb of Syracuse (Figure 15.2). It is a terracotta burlesque image of the bridal pair.²¹ The two are nude, sporting flabby flesh, snubbed noses and thick lips. Wearing *poloi*, a sign of divinity or the heroized dead,

¹⁶ Polacco *et al.* (1990) 119–59, who also argue that the natural caves (with a spring) behind the last rows of seats of the surviving theater provide evidence that there was a nymphaeum and attendant cult in this place.

¹⁷ Kowalzig (2008) 144, “the archaeology of the grand theatre of Syracuse is amongst the highest stakes in Sicilian archaeology.”

¹⁸ For an account of Aeschylus’ connection with Sicily, see Bosher in this volume and Herington (1967). Dearden discusses the cultural impact of Hieron’s court on Greek poets from the mainland in this volume. The Deinomenid tyrants, inheriting the title of hierophants for Demeter (Hdt. 7.153, Diod. Sic. 11.26.7, Cic. *II Verr.* 4.53.119) “expanded and promoted the cult to a state religion” (Bosher [2006] 22).

¹⁹ For a discussion of the fact that the festival included both male and female participants, who ate pastries in the shape of genitalia, see Kowalzig (2008) 138, n. 27.

²⁰ Bell (1981) 100–2.

²¹ This has been published by Bernabò Brea (1973), Bernabò Brea with Cavalier (2002). The statuette is currently in the Syracuse Museum (no. 68134).



Figure 15.2 Terracotta burlesque image of Hades and Persephone, from the sanctuary of Demeter/Kore in Neapolis. Museo Archeologico Regionale “Paolo Orsi,” Syracuse.

they stand interlocked in an affectionate embrace. Bernabò Brea concluded that this was a representation of the *hieros gamos* of Hades and Persephone that was celebrated at the ex-urban Syracusan sanctuary of Demeter/Kore near the spring Kyane, named for the eponymous nymph who was thought to be Kore's companion at the time of her abduction.²²

What is striking is that the Underworld king and queen possess many of the features of west Greek comic actors.²³ That they were inspired by a dramatic and parodic performance is suggested by the female mask that was found with the figures, a terracotta rendering of one made of linen, and a copy of one that could have been worn by someone playing the role of Persephone. Here we are getting close to a first-hand look at ritual activity in which this chthonic marriage inspired something with close ties to the comic theater. It looks as if the participants in the festival engaged not only in obscene banter, but arranged it so that the banter and obscenities informed a comic/parodic *performance* of the nuptial narrative.

Who were the participants in the Neapolis celebrations? We have no evidence, textual, inscriptional or artifactual. It would not be beyond the bounds of common sense, however, to assume that as in Locri the principal votaries in the Syracusan festival were nubile young women, *nymphae*. Their experience was a rite of transition when – like Persephone – they left childhood behind and were initiated into a new stage of life.²⁴

No study of the theatrical experience in the Greek West, which reached its apogee in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, can afford to overlook the evidence from the island of Lipari. The necropolis of Contrada Diana, with

²² Bernabò Brea with Cavalier (2002) 41.

²³ These comic figures were earlier referred to as representations of *phlyakes*, understood to be actors in rustic, local, more or less improvised comic performances, based upon references in Athenaeus (14.621ff.) and Pollux (9.149). Scholarship now leans in the direction of accepting the reality that there was a broad range of types of comic performance that enjoyed enormous popularity in the Greek West over a considerable period, and the term “west-Greek comic actors” is preferred. For discussion of this term now applied to what were commonly called “phlyax vases” see below, with nn. 70, 71.

²⁴ The ‘initiatory’ paradigm has been broadly used to help understand the process by which individuals are understood as undergoing a change of status under the patronage of divinity. The difficulties that come with using this term for a broad spectrum of rites of passage have been exposed by Fritz Graf (2003). I appreciate that the application of the term “initiation” must be used with care and attention to the specific transition that occurs. Graf's reference to the limitations of using the same term with the same understanding for the Arrhephoroi and the Spartan *agoge* is apt, and prenuptial rites for young women who performed Kore's rite of passage may have had more in common with the Spartan or Cretan initiatory experience for boys (in another Dorian context) than with the Athenian ritual. As Halliwell (2008) 157 argues, ritual laughter “not only arises inside a context of religious ceremonial but appears to be invited and expected at certain junctures.” These “junctures” can be physical (the *gephyrismos* at Eleusis, for example), biological (during initiatory rituals) or ontological (in mystery cults).

more than 2,500 tombs, had been undisturbed when excavations began in 1948, and – together with finds from the Koreion – has provided a wealth of material related to the Greek stage, from the fifth to third centuries bc. The extensive reporting and analysis of the material by Luigi Bernabò Brea and Madeleine Cavalier has left us a legacy that for a long time will support scholarship on the theater-loving population of Sicily during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods.²⁵ In the museum on Lipari one can see the largest collection of vase-paintings, figures and masks from Greek tragedy and from all genres of comedy that have yet been found in one collection. Much of the dramatic material was found in tombs, but from the votive pit at the Koreion came, for example, terracotta figures of silens, and a large number of plaques with the triple heads of nymphs identical to those from the Grotta Caruso in Locri.²⁶ Lipari clearly supported an active theatrical culture; the frequency with which Dionysus appears on the vase-paintings suggests that his was an over-arching presence, but this need exclude in no way the dramatic involvement of participants in the Kore festival(s).

Among the Sicilian calyx-kraters found in Lipari tombs that reflect scenes from the Greek stage is one that portrays the key dramatic figures from Sophocles' *Trachiniae*.²⁷ On one side of the krater we see Nike crowning Heracles who is about to marry Deianeira, while an Eros flies overhead. Above the couple on the right-hand side is the unsuccessful suitor Acheloos, who sports small horns as an indication of his river-god status. Deianeira's father Oeneas is on the lower right-hand side. Some of these details could be drawn from Deianeira's speech in the prologue of the play, but not all. The vase-painter instead appears to be illustrating the play in capsule form.²⁸ On the reverse side of this krater is a scene drawn not from tragedy, however:

²⁵ I cite but a small sample of their exemplary work with Bernabò Brea (1958), (1965), (1973), (1981), (1994), (2003); Bernabò Brea with Cavalier (2002).

²⁶ Bernabò Brea (1958) 126, with pl. 47. Bell (1981) 93 comments on Locri and the significance of the fact that on many of the plaques (found in Morgantina as well as in the Grotta Caruso) the nymphs are playing the double aulos. (Elsewhere nymphs are depicted dancing to the music of Pan.) This he attributes to the wish to portray the nymphs as appropriate figures for providing musical accompaniment for the Underworld wedding.

²⁷ The krater, attributed to the Maron painter, is dated c. 350–340 bc.

²⁸ Bernabò Brea (1994) 78–9, with plate xxx; Taplin (2007a) 89–90. That the theatrical finds from Lipari do not appear to offer a snapshot of a scene from a dramatic performance is indicated by the tragic masks which, as the museum literature explains, reflect the *experience* of the drama rather than the text of a play, including the reflections of the audience after attending the performance. Some, for example, appear to express the feelings of a principal tragic character after the catastrophe that concludes the play. Trendall (1990) 228 sees the figures on the 'Trachiniae' krater as foreshadowing the plot, reflecting that "it would have made a splendid poster."

a papposilenos named “Simos” (“Flat-nosed”) dances energetically to the music played by “Thalia” (the Muse of Comedy) on a double aulos, while a satyr named “Skyrtos” (“Leaper”) moves off with his thyrsus to the right. This fine Sicilian vase, found in tomb 658, contained emblems from the three major theatrical genres – tragedy, comedy and satyr drama²⁹ – and was felt to be an important escort in death.

From Lipari tomb 207 came an Attic red-figure krater (c. 440 BC) depicting Prometheus holding a fennel stalk between two satyrs who are lighting their torches from the flame.³⁰ Could this represent Aeschylus’ satyr play *Prometheus Pyrkaïos*, produced in Athens some thirty years earlier?³¹ If so, the vase provides striking evidence not only of the broad theatrical awareness of the inhabitants of this Aeolian island but also of the effectiveness with which dramatic performances in Athens during the fifth century BC were communicated abroad within a relatively short period.

Another calyx-krater from Lipari, attributed (but not securely) to the Paestan painter Assteas (early–mid fourth century), appears to depict a scene from a comic drama.³² Seated on a stage draped with a curtain below, Dionysus watches a nude acrobat performing a handstand on a table. From the other side, two masked comic actors observe the performance, an elderly one crouching by the acrobat’s body to get a closer look. The other comic figure looks up at two actors above who are wearing female masks, each looking out a window toward the other. No play has yet been identified as connected with the vase, although Sicilian acrobatic performing troupes can be assumed from Xenophon’s *Symposium* (2.1–3.1), where a Syracusan has been invited to a sympotic gathering in Athens at Callias’ house. He presents his entertainment troupe, consisting of an acrobatic dancing-girl, a female aulos-player, and a boy who plays the cithera and dances. If the vase was indeed produced in Paestum, could a Sicilian troupe such as this have inspired an actual comic performance in southern Italy? Perhaps the painter only imagined this theatrical scene, one that attracted a buyer from Lipari who took the vase to his/her grave?³³ In either case, the evidence

²⁹ Dearden (1990a) 237 with footnote 40. ³⁰ Lipari Museum no. 5. Bernabò Brea (1965) 211.

³¹ Walsh (2009) 125 points out that there are seventeen Attic vases produced between c. 440 and 420 BC that depict this scene, and were probably inspired by the Aeschylean play.

³² The vase was found in tomb 367, museum no. 927 = Louvre 240. Bernabò Brea (1965) 222; on p. 319 of the same volume T. B. L. Webster, in a discussion of the terracottas of Lipari, compares the scene to the two female acrobats/jugglers found in tomb 313 who perform on a kind of turntable.

³³ Later in the *Symposium* (9.1–7) Xenophon describes the dancing pair performing a mime of an erotic exchange between Dionysus and Ariadne. Their kisses were “not done in jest” (οὐ σκωπτόντως), Xenophon writes (9.5), but were genuine. Compare *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*

supports even further the impression that a Sicilian matrix welcomed comic performances.

The connection between the comic and chthonic is expressed on Lipari mainly through the finds from tombs, although the Koreion votive pit contributed more evidence. Another Koreion that produced important finds for this investigation is that at Morgantina, in the centre of eastern Sicily and close to Enna, one of the principal sites claiming to be the place of Kore's abduction. Kore/Persephone was clearly the dominant divinity in the region, and her ties with the theatrical life in Morgantina were strong. Several sanctuaries were built here during the second half of the fourth century, a time of prosperity for the city.³⁴ In a shrine on the lower terrace of the agora the twin goddesses Kore/Demeter were worshipped along with other chthonic gods in a location that was adjacent to a three-sided theater, where ritual dramas may have taken place.³⁵ Numerous busts of Kore/Persephone from the various shrines in Morgantina have been found, some with images of her abduction that, like those from Locrian Mannella, focus upon her wedding.³⁶ An unusual representation of the goddess as a semi-nude banqueter, wearing a polos and holding a patella, caused Malcolm Bell, in his study of the Morgantina terracottas, to speculate that this was Persephone, in a variation of the reclining 'banqueting hero' known from Taras. Her partial nudity could be explained by her presentation as a bride, and the patella would represent the goddess sacrificing at her Underworld wedding.³⁷ Bell observed that among the large number of masks and figures found in the sanctuaries of the goddess(es) the vast majority belonged to the comic rather than the tragic theater, supplementing the stock-types found in Lipari such as the cook, the leading slave and the parasite.³⁸ In his analysis of why

203 παρὰ σκώπτουσι' ἐτρέψατο and Richardson (1974) 222 *ad loc.* The Xenophon comment suggests that parodies of the love affair were known in Athens, and one notable example is found in the depiction of the theme on the Attic Pronomos vase, with a cast of characters from an as yet unidentified satyr play c. 400. Mythical themes clearly offered themselves for a variety of performance venues in the fourth century BC.

³⁴ Bell (1981) 25.

³⁵ Todisco (2002) 179–81; Nielsen (2002) 147–8; Stillwell (1959) 879–88.

³⁶ Bell (1981) 30, with figs. 106a and b. The Morgantina busts, Bell argues, represent Persephone, not Demeter (p. 85). A terracotta votive of a clean-shaven youth holding a wreath (Types 295–9) Bell identifies with Hades, the groom (p. 89). In the plaques with a triad of nymphs (Types 253–64) Bell sees, as mentioned above, the wedding musicians attending Persephone.

³⁷ Bell (1981) 83–4, where Bell recognizes that Persephone is rarely so represented. On red-figure vases from southern Italy, however, it was customary to represent brides in this way.

³⁸ Bell (1981) 67–9. This is, of course, not peculiar to the Morgantina sanctuaries. Bell refers to sources that attest to the presence of models of comic actors and dramatic masks found elsewhere in sanctuaries of Demeter and Persephone (p. 97, with n. 186). Terracotta votive collections on display in many museums in eastern Sicily combine busts of Persephone or

this should be so, Bell first considers the argument that votive dedications (presumably like grave-goods) belonged to individuals fond of the theater, possibly actors. He prefers, however, to connect the dramatic terracottas to ritual activity, seeing them (with Stroud³⁹) as “tokens of hilarity and humor: their distorted features may have seemed to be appropriate visual counterparts for *aischrologia*.”⁴⁰ He agrees with Zuntz⁴¹ that in Sicily Demeter is secondary to her daughter, whose *katabasis* represents the “triumph of Life over Death through Eros.”⁴² There is still a piece of the puzzle missing, however. One can accept *aischrologia* as appropriate in a Demeter ritual, with the *aition* of Iambe/Baubo, and ritual performances of the mother-goddess that re-enact her replacing grief and anger with laughter. But what about the Persephone narrative? What is inherently funny here? This is a question to which I will return.

But first: one cannot look at comic drama in Sicily and ignore the contribution of the island’s comic playwrights. In a volume devoted to the study of Greek theater outside Athens it is appropriate that Epicharmus receive his due.⁴³ Whether Aristotle was correct in alleging that this playwright launched the genre for Greece with his contribution of a plot-line (*Poetics* 1449b 5–7), it is clear that the poet’s work (fl. c. 480) was influential in the development of the genre.⁴⁴ That in the production of Epicharmus’ plays in Syracuse there were parallels with the performance structure in Athens is likely.⁴⁵ There is no evidence, however, that the Sicilian productions took place during a festival of Dionysus. The connection between Dionysus and the theater was certainly felt in Sicily (represented on the Lipari vases discussed above), and four of Epicharmus’ c. 35 titles now accepted as genuine suggest subjects connected with this god.⁴⁶ There is no evidence for festivals of Demeter/Kore providing a venue for the comedy staged in Syracuse, but

Persephone/Demeter holding a piglet and torch with masks, comic actors, silens etc. At Himera, for example, busts of Persephone (e.g., H 71.752) are found alongside silen masks (HA 2069–2665, 2062). The same is true for the finds from the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros found in the Palermo museum.

³⁹ Stroud (1968) 323. ⁴⁰ Bell (1981) 97. ⁴¹ Zuntz (1971) 170. ⁴² Bell (1981) 99.

⁴³ See in particular the contributions of Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, Willi and Dearden in this volume, and Bosher (2006).

⁴⁴ Greek colonies were not necessarily bound to reproduce the cultural and political systems of their homeland (see Hall in this volume), hence Sicily could offer space for the development of a performance genre that could initially be independent of its Athenian counterpart, although it soon benefited from reciprocal influence.

⁴⁵ On this see Wilson (2007b) 354–5. Whether the comedies of Epicharmus included a chorus is not clear. Dearden in this volume, p. 279, assesses the evidence for competitive dramatic performance suggested by Epicharmus *PCG* fr. 237 = fr. 316 Rodríguez-Noriega (“it lies on the knees of five judges”) and possibly supported by the curse tablet discussed in Wilson’s article.

⁴⁶ Bosher (2006) 52.

the proximity of Sicilian theaters to sanctuaries of these goddesses suggests another kind of connection.⁴⁷

The anonymous Byzantine author of *de Comoedia* wrote that Epicharmus “was the first to restore comedy, which had been scattered about, by adding a great deal of artistic skill.”⁴⁸ Is it possible to argue that the scattered raw material came – at least in part – from ritual performances in Demeter/Kore sanctuaries, in which an encounter with the world of the dead provoked ribald laughter?

Epicharmus’ plays parodied both the mythical tradition and everyday life. An example of the former is his *Busiris*. The title is taken from the name of the fearsome Egyptian king whom Heracles confronted during the course of his labors. King Busiris had been advised by a seer to sacrifice one foreigner every year to Zeus in order to keep his land free from famine. Heracles happened to arrive at the sacrificial moment, so Busiris had him arrested and led to the altar. The hero, in keeping with his reputation, broke away and killed the king and his sons. In a fragment that survives from Epicharmus’ play a speaker is reporting to Busiris the terrifying experience of watching Heracles eat (*Busiris* fr. 18 = 18 Rodríguez-Noriega):

πρῶτον μὲν, αἶ κ' ἔσθοντ' ἴδοις νιν, ἀποθάνοις·
βρέμει μὲν ὁ φάρυγξ ἔνδοθ', ἀραβεῖ δ' ἅ γνάθος
σοφεῖ δ' ὁ γομφίος, τέτριγε δ' ὁ κυνόδων,
σίζει δὲ ταῖς ῥίνεσσι, κινεῖ δ' οὐατα.

First off, you would die if you were to see him eating:
His throat roars inside, his jaw rattles,
His peg teeth clatter, and his dog-tooth squeaks,
He hisses with his nostrils and his ears rise and fall (with his chewing).

Heracles’ gluttony was frequently a focus of the comic tradition, found with some frequency in Epicharmus. But there are darker undertones here, operating along with the fun. “You would die” (ἀποθάνοις), says the interlocutor to Busiris, and indeed the king will die, following a blow from Heracles.

⁴⁷ From the surviving titles it is difficult to argue for either goddess playing a major role in any of the plays of Epicharmus. This does not mean that their influence was not felt: Dionysus (with the exception of *Frogs* and *Bacchae*) was not a major player in Athenian productions: “judging from the archaeology, the performance of drama in Sicily and Southern Italy was not tied to the festival of Dionysus, the god of theatre but, where such evidence is available, most (but by no means all) theatres are part of, or closely tied to, sanctuaries for Demeter and Kore” (Kowalzig [2008] 131).

⁴⁸ πρῶτος τὴν κωμωδίαν διεπριμμένην ἀνεκτήσατο πολλὰ προσφιλοτεχνήσας (Epicharmus *test.* 25 N.-G.).

The double meaning would not be lost on an audience who were prepared to accept that death could be funny.

Another Syracusan comic writer and near-contemporary of Epicharmus was Sophron, composer of mimes. Although he, like Epicharmus, wrote in the Doric dialect, he was also an influential figure in Athens.⁴⁹ Clearly, re-performances of his mimes continued in Sicily, for Theocritus' second and fifteenth *Idyll* are modeled on his predecessor's work.⁵⁰ Sophron appears to have had women actors, since mime actors performed without masks and his 'masculine' and 'feminine' mimes reflected the gender of the principal character(s).⁵¹ His *Busied about the Bride* (*Nymphophonos*) is one of the 'feminine' mimes, and is full of scatological and sexual speech and performance. The bridal *thalamos* is filled with excrement,⁵² and there are various names for shellfish in the play, slang references to female genitalia, such as the following:

Indeed, the conches, just as if at one command, gape open for us,
all of them, and the flesh of each one sticks out.⁵³

Are we not on a performance continuum with women at Demeter festivals in Attica such as the Haloa, the Stenia and the Thesmophoria?⁵⁴ There is certainly no reason to believe that behavior at Persephone/Demeter festivals in the Greek West was milder, supported by Diodorus' description of the Syracusan festivals (5.4.7, mentioned above).

Parody provides an opportunity for playwrights and audiences to enjoy a public dialogue with one another about inherited traditions and current practices.⁵⁵ Hieron invited Aeschylus to produce his *Persians* in Syracuse, and the performance may have occurred prior to its staging in Athens.⁵⁶ Epicharmus was at the peak of his career, and in all likelihood was in the

⁴⁹ Diogenes Laertius (3.18) claimed that Plato saw performances of Sophron's mimes in Sicily, brought the texts back to Athens and kept them under his pillow.

⁵⁰ Dearden (1990a) 238; Olson (2007) 12. See Kutzko, this volume, for a discussion of the gender-specific mimes of Sophron and Herodas and Acosta-Hughes, this volume, for a discussion of Theocritus.

⁵¹ Apollodorus *FGrH* 244f214. ⁵² Sophron, *PCG* 18.

⁵³ ταί γὰ μὲν κόγχοι, ὥσπερ αἶ κ' ἐξ ἐνὸς κελύματος κεχάναντι ἅμιν πᾶσαι, τὸ δὲ κρήξ ἐκάστας ἐξέχει. Sophron, *PCG* 24 (transl. Hordern [2004]: 61).

⁵⁴ In the Haloa, as we learn from the scholiast on Lucian (279–81), the priestesses circulated among the women whispering incitements to adultery, and the women handled representations of male and female genitalia, as they did at the Athenian Thesmophoria. See Lyons (2007) 37 with n. 24.

⁵⁵ Goldhill (1991) 176 discusses this important function as it operates in Attic comedy: "the contest of public voices is not only a crucial social and intellectual context for understanding fifth-century comedy; it is also a contest in which comedy plays a leading role."

⁵⁶ On the complexities surrounding its production in Sicily see Bosher in this volume, who entertains the possibility of a first performance of the play in Syracuse in 476/5.

audience. *Persai* is recorded as one of his titles.⁵⁷ The Aeschylean tragedy portrayed the disastrous consequences for the Persians of Xerxes' invasion of Greece. At a crucial moment in the play, the ghost of Darius appears from the Underworld, a heroic figure who in the play possesses a solemn understanding of the disastrous consequences of *hybris*. How could Epicharmus have launched a comic performance of this tale? An audience conscious of the power of humor to engage with death and relieve its pain with a staged parody might find no incompatibility here.

Aeschylus himself understood the social function of humor. One of his satyr plays was entitled *Isthmíastai*, "Spectators at the Isthmian Games," also known as *Theoroi*, "Sacred Envoys." The fragments, constituting roughly 100 lines and preserved in *P Oxy.* 2162, give us enough to understand a plot in which the satyrs, present at the Isthmian games and trained by Dionysus to dance at the festival, decide instead to perform as athletes. There is an *agon* of sorts, as Dionysus threatens to put them in chains for disloyalty by this new attachment to Poseidon, the god presiding over the games.⁵⁸ Here the god of theater is reduced to human scale. Epicharmus also produced a "Sacred Envoys," (*Thearoi*, the Doric version of *Theoroi*), in which pilgrimages to Delphi with offerings for Apollo are mocked.⁵⁹ Sophron composed a (women's) mime entitled *Tai Thamenai ta Isthmia* ("Women Watching the Isthmia"), in which women, probably Syracusan, attend an Isthmian festival (possibly in Corinth but more likely at one of the Sicilian Isthmia at Syracuse or Aetna) and comment on what they saw.⁶⁰ This was adapted by Theocritus in his *Idyll* 15, where two Syracusan women attend the Adonia festival in Alexandria. This literary dialogue was resumed in Athens in the third century with Euphron's comedy *Theoroi*. It is not only the stature of the gods that is reduced in these plays, but ritual itself, as the festival activities are trivialized.⁶¹ That women should be the spectators

⁵⁷ The titles are listed in *P Oxy.* 2426 and 2659. That Epicharmus was ready to mock Aeschylus is attested in schol. M, Aesch. *Eum.* 626, where we are told that he made fun of the tragic poet's frequent use of the word τιμαλφούμενον ("honored").

⁵⁸ It is worth noting that the satyrs indicate their devotion to Poseidon by hanging their actors' masks on the wall of the god's temple (vv. 18–22); similarly, the terracotta *pinakes* from Locri and the female masks found in Kore sanctuaries at Morgantina (Bell [1981] Types 793–800), which are perforated in order to be hung, presumably as votives.

⁵⁹ On the humanizing and humbling of the gods in Epicharmus see Guardì (1980) 32 and on the Greek fondness for burlesquing the gods generally, see Walsh (2009) 159–62.

⁶⁰ Hordern (2004) 145.

⁶¹ Halliwell (2008) 211 points out how laughter in ritual is internalized in the plays of Aristophanes, who turns the actions of his protagonists "into zany magnified instances of the recognized need for ritual laughter, but at the same time embodiments of comedy's own gelastic priorities."

in the texts of Sophron and Theocritus, and their actions parodied, is in keeping with Sicilian ritual performance tradition.

Although we have the names of other Sicilian comic writers from the fifth and fourth centuries BC⁶² we sadly have little but the titles to indicate the nature of their plays. Judging from these, however, parody – whether of gods and heroes from myth, of rituals, of human behavior or of other dramas – was popular. The seven titles ascribed to ‘Phormis’ or ‘Phormos’, a contemporary of Epicharmus,⁶³ suggest that his comedies parodied traditional myths and/or Athenian tragedies based upon these. To Dinolochus, variously named as the son or pupil of Epicharmus,⁶⁴ is attributed a *Komoidotragoidia*.⁶⁵ The title alone suggests the mingling of the *geloion* with the *spoudaion* that characterized the theatrical taste of the Greeks in the west.

This west-Greek enjoyment of the serio-comic was a climate in which all forms of parody could thrive.⁶⁶ The para-tragic, the para-comic and the para-iconographic dominated the comic plays and the images on vases. It is now accepted that the audiences of the plays and the purchasers of these vases were well informed about the mythical traditions captured in Attic drama and vase-painting.⁶⁷ Since the studies of the Apulian ‘Würzburg Krater’ contributed by Csapo and Taplin,⁶⁸ we have undisputed evidence for a familiarity with Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazousae* in South Italy. The image on the vase, taken directly from a scene in the play, reflects the comic re-working of the tragic narrative of the Mysian king featured in the tragic plays of Aeschylus and Euripides named *Telephus*. The scene from the Aristophanes play is taken from the moment when the relative of Euripides who has invaded the women’s Thesmophoria festival threatens to slaughter/sacrifice over an altar the ‘baby’ of one of the participants (as Telephus had threatened to slay the baby Orestes in order to gain the attention of Agamemnon in the original story). The comic ‘baby’ is in fact a filled wineskin belonging to the ‘mother’. This is layered Aristophanic parody – of the tragic predecessors, of blood sacrifice/death, and of women’s conduct. And the setting is the Thesmophoria, as prominent a festival for Demeter

⁶² Wilson (2007b) 361, n. 45.

⁶³ According to the Suda (s.v. ‘Phormis’) and Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449b.

⁶⁴ Hordern (2004) 3. ⁶⁵ Dinolochus, *PCG* 1.

⁶⁶ Walsh (2009) xxviii describes parody in the Greek West as a “manipulation or distortion of (an) original narrative or traditional iconography.”

⁶⁷ On the complex question of tragic vases found even in non-Greek burial sites, see Todisco in this volume. Comic scenes rendered on vases became particularly popular c. 400 BC.

⁶⁸ *RVAp* 4/4a, dated to c. 370 BC; Taplin (1993a) 36–40, and Csapo (1986) and most recently (2010a) 53–8.

in the Greek West as in Athens. The parodic tenor of the play and its setting would secure its popularity in the Greek West.

The Würzburg Telephus krater is one of a collection of c. 250 red-figure vases from southern Italy until recently referred to as ‘phlyax’ vases. Confusion arose because this was the term used by Athenaeus (14.621d–f, quoting Sosibius) for improvised farces in the region. As Csapo and Taplin have pointed out, many of the scenes can be drawn not from local farces but from formal Athenian drama.⁶⁹ The ‘phlyax’ genre became even more difficult to define when one tried to reconcile the images with Nossis’ use of the term for Rhinthon’s plays, which she calls “tragic *phlyakes*”.⁷⁰ Clearly there was a lively tradition of various types of comic performances in the Greek West in the fourth century BC, and an assortment of these was represented on the vases, now more usefully understood as depicting scenes with west-Greek comic actors.⁷¹

This South Italian red-figure ware not only demonstrates a lively enjoyment of the burlesque and parodic, but engages in that same type of performed social dialogue in which writers such as Epicharmus and Sophron participated. One such vase is the Apulian bell-krater (c. 380–370 BC) on which the centaur Cheiron is ascending a flight of stairs, pushed from behind by a comic slave and pulled from the front by another slave given the traditional slave name, “Xanthias.”⁷² The scene is likely a parody of the myth in which Cheiron is seeking a cure for his wounding by the poisoned arrow of Heracles, from which he will suffer in agony and ultimately die. Placed above Cheiron and the slaves on the vase are two comic females with snubbed noses and thick lips, wearing headbands or garlands. What is striking is that the word “NY[MP]HAI” is inscribed over their heads. Are these *nymphae* comic attendants of Dionysus? Comic brides? They appear to be ignoring the activities below, and are busily chatting with one another, “like two old ladies over a garden fence.”⁷³ As with Dionysus and the comic actors on the Paestan calyx-krater depicting the acrobat (discussed above), the pair of female spectators are prominent (wearing festive headgear) but

⁶⁹ Taplin (1993a) 48–54 and Csapo (1986).

⁷⁰ *Anth. Pal.* 7.414. Nossis’ funerary epigram for Rhinthon is dated to c. 300 BC, several decades after the production of the so-called ‘phlyax’ vases. Born in Syracuse, Rhinthon worked in Taras and is credited in the *Suda* (s.v. “Rhinthon”) with inventing *hilarotragoidia*, “jolly tragedies.” That he likely parodied the tragedies of Euripides is evident from the number of his titles that match those of the Athenian playwright. On Rhinthon’s “subverting” conventional Attic dramatic genres see Taplin (1993a) 50.

⁷¹ Walsh (2009) 76; Dearden (1988) and above, in this volume; Carpenter (2009).

⁷² *PV* 35, B. M. F 151. ⁷³ Walsh (2009) 216.

they are disengaged from the principal scene. Was this the vase-painter's metatheatrical technique of commenting on the scene that makes light of the unfortunate centaur's pain? If so, it is perhaps worth noting that he chose women/*nymphae* to do the commenting.

In his discussion of mythological burlesque in Greek vase painting, Walsh (2009) highlights the comic inversion of the tragic tale of Ajax' rape of Cassandra at Athena's altar in Troy depicted on one of these vases.⁷⁴ On a calyx-krater from Paestum⁷⁵ Assteas painted Ajax clinging to the altar for protection as he faces an aggressive attack from the Trojan princess. While the characters are distorted in the style of comic actors, neither costumes nor masks are clearly indicated. Perhaps the intention was to render a burlesque of the heroic tale (without dramatic form), to arouse laughter with a travesty of the mythical tradition, and ultimately to raise the question, "What if?"

In some instances, the west-Greek comic actors are portrayed on these vases (with or without Dionysus) in scenes that cannot be securely identified as parodic, but clearly have ties to ritual and the Underworld. One of these is a Paestan red-figure bell-krater, painted c. 350–340 BC by Python (Figure 15.3).⁷⁶ On one side of the vase the comic actor, masked and wearing a garland, runs toward an altar, carrying a torch and holding a plate of offerings on his head. On the other side is Dionysus, also with offerings and placed beside an altar. The god's presence would appear to be more chthonic than theatrical, but is still painted with comic intent.⁷⁷

The popularity of parody and the burlesque was of course not exclusive to the Greeks of South Italy and Sicily. The extent to which delight in the experience of the comic was tied to death and the Underworld was, however, much more marked in the Greek West. Attic comedies and satyr plays

⁷⁴ Ibid. frontispiece and *passim*.

⁷⁵ PV 80, Villa Giulia museum no. 50279. ⁷⁶ PV 50, Louvre no. 244.

⁷⁷ From a necropolis in Bruttium a *patera* (c. 350–300) was found on which was painted a masked comic actor with large phallus carrying a platter of eggs (Sestieri [1940] 191–5). As on the Paestan krater there are no theatrical elements apart from the costume of the fellow, and Sestieri concludes that this represents the joy of being in the *thiasos* of the mysteries of Dionysus. Eggs were frequently found in funereal contexts (Nilsson [1908] 530–46) and a large number were excavated intact from the tombs on Lipari. On another Campanian krater of the fourth century (Pesce [1939–40] 162–5) a nude Dionysus walks solemnly toward the left carrying a thyrsus and holding a mantle over his forearm. In front of him proceeds a comic masked actor crowned with ivy. With his left hand he shakes a torch; in his right hand is an egg. Pesca distinguishes two ways of representing these comic actors on South Italian vases: one type was connected with the comic theater and the other the *thiasos*. The egg on this krater, in his view, alludes to the mystical rebirth after death promised by the god. And a comic actor leads the way!



Figure 15.3 West Greek comic actor with torch and funereal offerings

engaged in parody – of myth, other dramas and everyday life – but its divine patron Dionysus as *mystagogue* is markedly more distant. One exception to this could be the representation of comic actors on the miniature *choes* that were made for children who participated in the Anthesteria on the second day of this festival for Dionysus (the “day of the dead” as well as the day reserved for wine-drinking). There is a reference in ps.-Plutarch (*X Orat.* 941) to Lycurgus reviving a comic competition that had formerly been part of the festival. Appropriate to the participation of children, the comic actors on the Attic *choes* are engaged in childish play.

This is something we also see in the painted vases belonging to the Theban mystery cult of the Cabiri. Pausanias (9.25.6–7) discusses the origins of the ritual, a gift from Demeter to the Cabiri, father and son figures with chthonic features. The sanctuary of Demeter Cabira and Kore was located seven stades from the Cabirion where the open-air *theatron* served as a *telesterion* for the mysteries. From the middle of the fifth century until the last third of the fourth century BC ‘Cabirion ware’ was produced, on which child-like figures were portrayed as engaged in playful renditions of myth and legend,

and it has been argued that some of these scenes were drawn from popular plays of the day including Middle Comedy, and that they were performed in the *theatron*.⁷⁸ In many respects this is a close parallel to the images found on vases depicting comic scenes in the Greek West, and the two locations share ties to chthonic divinities and their mysteries, Demeter/Persephone and Dionysus. The child-like nature of the Cabiric images is appropriate for a ritual that honored a *pais*, and toys were among the votive gifts found at the shrine.

Similar in playful style are the doll-like figures painted on the 'Sam Wide' vases, found in the sanctuary of Demeter/Kore on Acrocorinth, and dating from the last half of the fifth century BC. These depict mythical parodies, such as one "dominated by a masturbating Sphinx under which a puny Oedipus cowers."⁷⁹ There are no clear indications that these vases reflect comic performances, but the bawdy humor is consistent with that generated at shrines of the goddesses in the west where the connection is more evident.

The feature shared by chthonic and comic activity is *performance*.⁸⁰ The Greeks populating the western colonies appear to have moved seamlessly between performances during rituals for Dionysus and Kore/Demeter and those on the comic stage. Dionysus may have exerted a stronger presence in southern Italy while Kore/Persephone or Demeter dominated those in Sicily, but the lines were not clearly drawn.⁸¹ Nymphs were common figures among the votive artifacts in both regions, and those drawn from chthonic sanctuaries in Locri, Syracuse, Morgantina and other Greek cities in Sicily strongly suggest that these belonged to prenuptial rites. Prenuptial performances, like those belonging to Dionysiac rituals in Megale Hellas and Athens, produced a cultural matrix in which comic playwrights could indulge a popular taste for the serio-comic and the burlesque, while vase-painters provided the visual record. But the question remains, why would parodic performance be a natural component of prenuptial rites, where young women engaged in an encounter with death or the Underworld in preparing to become brides, wives and mothers? The fact that there is no

⁷⁸ Schacter (1986) 99, with note 2. Demand (1982) 62 adds that theatrical masks were found at the site, adding further confirmation of dramatic performance. Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 138, in commenting on the Cabiric vase-paintings, says "It seems therefore probable that in Boeotia, too, early dances were transformed (perhaps under Attic influence) into comedy."

⁷⁹ Walsh (2009) 16.

⁸⁰ The range of spheres in which 'performance' occurs has recently been the subject of study: "ethnicity, citizenship, ritual, being an audience member, gender, power asymmetries or class (among many other things) can fruitfully be analysed as being 'staged', 'performed', and 'enacted'" (Revermann [2006] 26).

⁸¹ Kore/Persephone exerted a stronger presence in western Locri, for example.

secure answer to this important question that is not tainted with speculation is not a reason to refrain from exploring possible explanations.

Simon Goldhill, in his study of Aristophanic parody, observed that comic performance participated in a discourse with other public voices in the *polis*.⁸² The comic inversion that took place on the Athenian stage he distinguishes from the subversive, populist, anti-hierarchical function of Bakhtin's *carnival*; when comedy engaged in criticism of the established order it launched a dialogue rather than sowing seeds for a revolution. Acknowledging the contributions of Jean Carrière,⁸³ Goldhill prefers to see the "ludic release" of Athenian parodic performances, whether in Dionysiac ritual or on stage, as offering possibilities for renewal.⁸⁴ Accepting (with caution) that "initiation rites" is a useful term⁸⁵ to describe the process by which the Greeks became *mystai* and entered a new phase/understanding of life, I focus in this inquiry on young women's *katabatic* rituals, asking what it was that invited the burlesque, the outrageous, perhaps narrated and performed in cultic theatrical space, and in turn participating in the public discourse launched by local playwrights.

Social anthropologists, beginning with Van Gennep and Leach,⁸⁶ have explored the social function of ritual activities that drew initiates into a liminal space where paradox and inversion governed their performance. This was an environment conducive to rebirth, regeneration, where time was cyclical not linear (as with natural growth, and characteristic of the cyclic return of Persephone). In *katabatic* rituals performance in a marginal space/time would readily encourage the expectation that life would follow death.⁸⁷ Intimations of immortality could occur here. But the *nymphae* of the Greek West were not only *mystai*, passing through a ritual death to rebirth; they were rehearsing the experience of sexuality. At the intersection of the initiation and fertility paradigm the girls were, as Kenneth Dowden

⁸² Goldhill (1991) 167–222. Kowalzig (2007) 34–6 discusses the dynamic nature of ritual, and its powerful ability to both create and maintain social relations. Applying performance theory to ritual, Kowalzig argues for the particular impact of ritual generated by its "non-intellectual aspects" (pp. 46–7). Halliwell (2008) 21 would characterize the collective impact of comedy as consisting of "playful laughter," co-operative and pleasurable to all participants. Its antagonistic features are formal only; in substance it enhances "eirenic sensibility." On his view that laughter simulated immortality in a sympotic gathering see p. 104. Halliwell refers to the *aischrologia* in Demeter rituals and its *aition* of Iambe in the face of the "death-related negativity of Demeter's grief . . . a vivacious accompaniment to festive celebration (or anticipation) of the fecundity of humans, animals and the earth" (198–9).

⁸³ Goldhill (1991) p. 182; Carrière (1979) 23–4. ⁸⁴ Goldhill (1991) 182.

⁸⁵ See above, n. 24; the process (and the outcome) varied in each ritual context, of course.

⁸⁶ Leach (1961); Van Gennep (1960).

⁸⁷ Versnel (1990) 55; performing the Persephone narrative would be an effective means of enforcing this.

has pointed out, in a place of “explosive power.”⁸⁸ An example of this power could be recognized in the Locrian *pinax* on which the bridal couple pour libations over the altar that depicted an act of bestiality.

Social anthropologists building upon earlier work⁸⁹ have argued for a common structure underpinning various rituals from several cultures that acknowledge major human transitions. Transitions such as those happening at puberty, marriage and death, because of this structural homology, can share the symbolic projections of any of these transitions.⁹⁰ When the experience is projected in vase-paintings, the figure of Eros, for example, can represent more than a sexual valence: it can stand for the loss of self that occurs with a sexual experience but also with death or during an epiphany of a god.⁹¹ In his survey of the fifth-century Attic vase-paintings of Sotades, which – like the image of Cassandra molesting Ajax on the Paestan krater or the Sphinx and Heracles discussed above – represent reversals of the standard mythical accounts, Hoffmann discovered fourth-century replicas of the work of this Attic artist that were produced in southern Italy. One example is a rhyton from Ruvo where Heracles is portrayed as a pygmy assaulting a crane.⁹² On one level this is a burlesque of the Homeric tale that “the cranes flee before the winter storms and bring death to the pygmies” (*Iliad* 3.3–6). Introducing Heracles as a pygmy can of course be read as a reversal on another level, burlesquing the muscular hero-savior. But if, as Hoffmann does, we recall that Heracles was frequently found on fifth-century Attic vases as the prototypical mystery initiate, whose transformation was burlesqued by Aristophanes,⁹³ we get an additional perspective: this pygmy parody is exploiting the potential of the reverse world of initiation.⁹⁴ The potential is released by a visual confrontation of the sublime and the ridiculous, the *coincidentia oppositorum*. It can confer on the viewer who understands such things (cf. Parmenides’ εἰδὼς φῶς) a

⁸⁸ Dowden (1989) 7. ⁸⁹ Above, n. 86, and Turner (1967, 1969, 1982).

⁹⁰ Hoffmann (1977) 2 and (1997) 14, 31, where he points out that because the practice of sacred parody and parodistic reversal has become altogether alien to Western culture it has been difficult to understand. I am grateful to Jeri Bass for introducing me to Herbert Hoffmann and his multivalent readings of Greek rituals, together with offering new possibilities of reading the iconography of vase-painting, including that of Sotades.

⁹¹ “[I]t is Eros who dissolves the separate egos and releases the energies required for transformation” (Hoffmann [1997] 132).

⁹² Hoffmann (1997) fig. 12 and p. 31.

⁹³ Hoffmann (1997) with n. 41; on the initiation of Dionysus and the *Frogs* see now Lada-Richards (1999).

⁹⁴ “On the Ruvo rhyton, the immortality that is the core of Dionysian mystery religion is held up to ridicule – as in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes – and, just as in the Aristophanic comedy, the ridicule is only an *apparent* sacrilege. At a deeper level of meaning it is another instance of ‘reverse-world’ driving home its point” (Hoffmann [1997] 31).

reminder of the deeper reality that can be projected through the incongruous and unexpected, the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*. This was, of course, a feature of comic theater, and has been singled out as characteristic of Epicharmus. It is not surprising that Sotades' rhyton was reproduced in Megale Hellas.

And it may explain why Nossis in her epigram for Rhinthon had the composer of "tragic *phlyakes*" invite passersby to come to his *grave* and laugh (*AP* 7.414):

As you pass by laugh loudly and spare a kind word
for me; I am Rhinthon of Syracuse.
I may have been one of the lesser nightingales of the Muses
but I picked myself a special ivy-wreath, thanks to my tragic phlyakes.

PART III

Hellenistic reflections

Doric mime and Attic Comedy in Herodas' *Mimiambi*

DAVID KUTZKO

Introduction

When Aristotle says that plot-making came originally from Sicily and that Crates was the first of the Athenians to move away from purely personal invective and to generalize plots (Arist. *Poet.* 1449b5–8 = Epich. test. 5), he is pointedly looking at Attic and Doric comedy not as two isolated traditions, but as indispensable parts of a whole.¹ Earlier in the *Poetics*, Aristotle makes another intriguing connection between Doric and Attic traditions when he brings the Sicilian mimes of Sophron and Xenarchus into collocation with the 'Socratic dialogues' (Arist *Poet.* 1447b9–11 = Sophr. test. 2). His reasons for doing so are not entirely clear, but later ancient writers did not hesitate to claim that the mimes of Sophron influenced Plato's mimetic dialogues.² Several modern scholars have concurred,³ and some have gone even further to suggest that Sophron, who lived after Epicharmus in the fifth century, was a direct influence on Aristophanes.⁴

The problem is that there are even fewer fragments of Sophron than there are of Epicharmus and no direct testimonia from the fifth or the first quarter of the fourth century to verify that Sophron's mimes influenced Athenian comedy or philosophy.⁵ Nevertheless, he sustained a substantial

I thank Kate Boshier for her vision and patience as an editor. I also thank Rex Stem.

¹ Arist. *Poet.* 1449b5–8 = Epich. test. 5, τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν {Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις} τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε τῶν δὲ Ἀθηνῆσιν Κράτης πρῶτος ἤρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ιδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους. The names Epicharmus and Phormis, which are undeclined in the text, are apparently glosses; see Else (1963) 197–203 and Lucas (1972) 90–1. On Epicharmus and Crates, see Kerkhof (2001) 173–7.

² Sophr. test. 4–11.

³ See, for example, Clay (1994) 33–7 and 47 and Gordon (1999) 64–73. The most extensive discussion remains Reich (1903) 380–413.

⁴ On the dating of Sophron, see Hordern (2004) 2–4, who tentatively places him in the second half of the fifth century. On the possible influence of Sophron on Aristophanes, cf. Clay (1994) 37–41, on Ar. *Nub.* 373–411, and Daly (1982), on Ar. *Ran.* 1331–63. Both Clay and Daly are careful to point out that the connection between the comic playwright and the mime writer is only possible, not provable.

⁵ There are 171 fragments of Sophron in Kassel and Austin (2001), most less than a line long. Hordern (2004) is the most recent commentary. Because of the lack of evidence, many more scholars have been skeptical than optimistic about Sophron's influence. Cf. Hordern (2004) 2–4

reputation throughout antiquity. In the sixth century AD, Choricus of Gaza called Sophron the father of all mime (Sophr. test. 7), and Olympiodorus stated that Plato's favorite authors were Aristophanes and Sophron (Sophr. test 8).⁶ For the literary historian, therefore, Sophron has become a missing link, either to be embraced for his reputation in spite of a dearth of textual evidence, or, more often than not, to be ignored. As a missing link, he is particularly tantalizing, for he might, in his probable connection to the elder Epicharmus, give us more insight into the development of comic characterization in fifth-century Sicily and provide a better sense of how *mimos* influenced so many facets of Greek literature.⁷

While the fragmentary state of Sophron's text does create an impasse, a significant clue to his importance as a literary model comes from the work of the third-century BC Hellenistic poets Theocritus and Herodas. The Theocritean scholia claim that the scenarios of Idylls 2 and 15 are taken from Sophron (Wendel, p. 270 = Sophr. fr. 5 and Wendel, p. 305) and posterity has given the title *Mimiambi* to the work of Herodas, asserting his general debt to Sophron.⁸ While we do not know for sure what the relationship was between the Athenian and Sicilian dramatic traditions in the fifth century, we do know that the Hellenistic poets were knowledgeable of both, and that they actively melded these traditions together, along with several others, into their experimental poetry. In this chapter I will consider how Herodas viewed his Attic and Doric influences, in an attempt to paint a clearer picture of Sophron's impact on later quasi-dramatic poetry.⁹

I begin by re-examining the evidence that ties Plato's dramatic dialogues to those of Sophron. While the tradition that states that Plato was influenced by Sophron might not reveal anything about Plato's compositions, it does suggest the knowledge and importance of Sophron's literary form by Aristotle's time, and certainly by the time of Theocritus and Herodas.

and Blondell (2002) 14–17, who discusses how to investigate dramatic characterization in Plato without being able to retrieve fully his many dramatic models.

⁶ The remarks of Choricus and Olympiodorus do not imply that they knew the texts of Sophron, only that they were aware of his literary reputation.

⁷ On the definitions and various types of mime in the Greek world, see Wüst (1932) 1727–43.

⁸ It is usually assumed that Herodas gave the title to the collection himself, but there is no evidence of this. In fact, the only use of the title in Greek occurs in Stobaeus; see Cunningham (1971) 1. Pliny's mention of the *Mimiambi* (Plin. *Ep.* 4.3.3) suggests that at least by the first century AD, Herodas' work was known by this title in literary circles. Nevertheless, that Herodas' dialogues are in the form of literary mimes, influenced at least to some extent by Sophron, is not a claim that has been challenged and it will be assumed to be true here. On Sophron as a model for Theocritus and Herodas, see Hordern (2004) 26–8.

⁹ For Sophron's influence on Theocritus, see Eitern (1933); for examples of the elements of mime and comedy in the *Idylls*, see Hunter (1996) 110–23. On Theocritus, theater, and mime, see Acosta-Hughes in this volume.

The relationships among poetic traditions, dramatic dialogues, and the theater are featured in Herodas 8, a cryptic and fragmentary programmatic poem. I attempt to discern what Herodas might be saying about himself in relation to Sophron and dramatic poetry. I then turn to what has been acknowledged as a distinct similarity between the mimes of Sophron and the *Mimiambi*, the division into male and female scenarios. The focus on gender-specific scenarios is in fact something that Doric mime and Attic Comedy have in common. I compare in detail Herodas 6 and 7 with pertinent scenes in Aristophanes and fragments of Sophron, to show how all three authors depict male and female concerns from different angles, with differently achieved effects. I suggest that Herodas' innovation in this diptych can only be appreciated fully in the context of the equally important poetic developments of Sicily and Greece.

Attic philosophers and the Sicilian connection

The passage in the *Poetics* where Aristotle references mimes and Socratic dialogues is, like much of Aristotle, condensed. In giving examples of art forms that employ *mimesis*, broadly defined (Arist. *Poet.* 1447a15–16, πᾶσαι τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον), Aristotle first discusses mimetic representations employing harmony and rhythm (1447a23–8), and then turns to the problem of classifying *mimesis* that employs language (1447a28–1447b13 = Sophr. test. 2):

ἡ δὲ {ἐπιοποιία} μόνον τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς ἢ τοῖς μέτροις καὶ τούτοις εἴτε μιγνῦσα μετ' ἀλλήλων εἶθ' ἐνὶ τινὶ γένει χρωμένη τῶν μέτρων <ἀνώνυμος> τυγχάνει οὔσα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμεν ὀνομάσαι κοινὸν τοὺς Σώφρονος καὶ Ξενάρχου μίμους καὶ τοὺς Σωκρατικούς λόγους οὐδὲ εἴ τις διὰ τριμέτρων ἢ ἑλεγείων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν τοιοῦτων ποιοῖτο τὴν μίμησιν.¹⁰

The art which employs bare words alone or meters, those either combined together or of just one kind, does not happen to have a name up to the present day. For we could not give a name in common to the mimes of Sophron and Xenarchus and to the Socratic conversations; nor could we give a name in common if one should make a mimic representation through iambs or elegiacs or some other such meter.

Mimetic writing does not have sufficient nomenclature. While mimes and the 'Socratic conversations' are both in prose and dialogue form, it would

¹⁰ On the text, see Ford (2010) 223.

be misleading to say they belong to the same genre. Similarly, types of verse cannot be classified by their meter alone.¹¹ This interpretation is supported by an example at the end of this section, where Aristotle says that the work of Homer and Empedocles cannot be classified together, even though both wrote in hexameters (1447b17–20). Thus it seems, at least at first, that Aristotle chose these prose examples for the purpose of strong contrast.

Nevertheless, a passage from Athenaeus, quoting from the lost *On Poets*, suggests that Aristotle felt that the two forms, at least in their development, were related (Ath. 11.505c):

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Ποιητῶν οὕτως γράφει· ‘οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐμμέτρους τοὺς καλουμένους Σώφρονος μίμους μὴ φῶμεν εἶναι λόγους καὶ μιμήσεις, ἢ τοὺς Ἀλεξαμενοῦ τοῦ Τηίου τοὺς πρώτους γραφέντας τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων;’¹²

And Aristotle thus writes in his *On Poets*: “Should we not then call the so-called mimes of Sophron, not even composed in verse, conversations and mimetic representations, nor the earliest written of the Socratic dialogues, those of Alexamenos of Teos?”

In both the *Poetics* and the *On Poets*, Aristotle highlights the same innovation in the Sicilian mime and the philosophical dialogue, the artistic representation of conversation in prose. It is significant that Sophron, Xenarchus, and the *Socratic logoi* are the first named examples in all of the *Poetics*, followed then by Homer and Empedocles. As Aristotle began his work with the problem of definitions, he must have thought these examples had relevance to his audience. From our standpoint, the term “Socratic dialogues” signifies primarily Plato, while the Sicilian mime evokes, if anything, a historical footnote. For Aristotle and his audience, however, the dialogues and Sicilian mimes were newly established forms of Greek literature. By referring to the dialogues as *Sokratikoi logoi*, Aristotle is obviously interested in the

¹¹ My translation and interpretation of 1447b9–13 assume an ellipsis in the middle of the sentence between οὐδὲ and εἶ: (ἀν ἔχοιμεν ὀνομάσαι); cf. Else (1963) 45–6. If the ellipsis is not implied, then Aristotle is saying that the mimes and Socratic dialogues would not be the same, even if they were cast in the same meter; cf. Lucas (1972) 60 and Ford (2010) 224.

¹² I print the text of Athenaeus as it is printed in Haslam (1972) 17. The text of Kassel and Austin (2001) reflects a significant emendation at the end of the passage: Sophr. test. 3, τοὺς πρότερον γραφέντας τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγους. The change from πρώτους to πρότερον and διαλόγων to διαλόγους shows the skepticism of certain textual critics concerning the claim that such an obscure writer as Alexamenos could really have been a Socratic and one who was a stylistic predecessor to Plato. See Haslam (1972) 17–18 and 20–4 on interpreting the text as it stands; see also Clay (1994) 33 and 34 n. 22.

tradition as a whole, not just in the influential dialogues of Plato.¹³ Similarly, Aristotle views mime-writing as a tradition, with the mention of both Sophron in the fifth century and Xenarchus who was at least a generation later, composing a lampoon against the Rhegians at the behest of Dionysius I some time at the beginning of the fourth century.¹⁴ Just as Aristotle had found two sources for the development of plot in comedy – Sicilian writers and the Athenian Crates (Arist. *Poet.* 1449b5–8 = Epich. test. 5) – he also ascribes the invention of mimetic dialogues in prose, a ‘nameless’ category (Arist. *Poet.* 1447b9), to both the Socratic *logoi* and Sicilian *mimoi*.

While Aristotle never claims that these two forms actually influenced each other, later writers were quick to make the connection between Plato, the most influential writer of Socratic dialogues, and Sophron. Still in the fourth century BC, Athenaeus reports, the historian Douris claimed that Plato always had Sophron’s mimes in his hand (Athen. 11.504b = Sophr. test. 5, τοὺς Μίμους. . . οὗς αἰεὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν Δοῦρίς φησι τὸν σοφὸν Πλάτωνα). Because this indirect quote takes place in the context of an extensive passage criticizing Plato, Douris’ connection between the “wise” philosopher and the earthy mimes of Sophron is usually seen as polemical.¹⁵ The fourth century was indeed the beginning of a polemical tradition against Plato that often used his voyages to Sicily against him.¹⁶ Alcimus, for example, claimed that Plato ‘transcribed’ a great deal of Epicharmus in his own work (Diog. Laert. 3.9, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ’ Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ προσωφέληται τὰ πλεῖστα μεταγράψας).¹⁷ However, it is not clear that all of the later authors who mention Plato’s discovery of Sophron’s work in Sicily, such as Diogenes Laertius, do so out of malice, or simply as added insight into Plato’s own life and creative development: δοκεῖ δὲ Πλάτων καὶ τὰ Σώφρονος τοῦ μιμογράφου βιβλία ἡμελημένα πρῶτος εἰς Ἀθήνας διακομίσαι καὶ ἡθοποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν (Diog. Laert. 3.18 = Sophr. test. 6,

¹³ On this tradition, see Clay (1994) 23–3 and Ford (2010) 224–32.

¹⁴ Phot. p. 485,21 = Xenarchus test. 2, Ξέναρχος γάρ, ὁ Σώφρονος τοῦ μιμογράφου υἱός, ἐκωμῶδει τοὺς Ῥηγίνοις ὡς δειλοῦς, ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου πεισθείς. This very late source also calls Xenarchus the son of Sophron. Hordern (2004) 2–3 is correctly skeptical of this claim. Familial relationships were often invented to assert developments in literary traditions; cf. Lefkowitz (1981) 5–6 on the claim that Hesiod was Homer’s cousin. Aristotle asserts that Sophron and Xenarchus comprise part of a tradition simply by naming them together.

¹⁵ Clay (1994) 34.

¹⁶ On the anecdotal tradition of Plato’s three trips to Sicily, see Riginos (1976) 70–85. On Plato’s interest in theater in the west, see Monoson, this volume.

¹⁷ On Alcimus and the fragments he quotes, see Kerkhof (2001) 65–78. See also Cassio (1985) 43–51. As opposed to Sophron, whom Plato never mentions directly, Plato’s Socrates demonstrates his knowledge and appreciation of Epicharmus twice (Pl. *Tht.* 152e5 and *Grg.* 505e1–2).

“And it seems that Plato was the first to import the books of the mime-writer Sophron, which had been neglected before, to Athens and to portray characters in accord with him”).¹⁸ While Diogenes singles out Sophron’s characterizations as influential, an anonymous papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, probably from the second century AD, emphasizes the form of his dialogues (*P Oxy.* 3219 = Sophr. test. 4):

[ἐ]ν τούτῳ κ[αὶ Σ]ώφρον[α] μειμησάμενος τὸν μιμογράφον κα(τὰ) τὸ δραματικὸν τῶν διαλόγων· οὐ γὰρ πειστέον Ἀριστοτέλει ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς Πλάτωνα βασκανίας ἐ[ἰ]πόντι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Ποιητικῆς καὶ πρὸ Πλάτωνος γεγράφθαι δραματικούς [διαλό]γ[ους] ὥπ[ρ]’ [Ἀ]λεξαμενοῦ Τηνίου.¹⁹

... in this also, having imitated the mime-writer Sophron with respect to the dramatic nature of his dialogues. For Aristotle is not to be believed when, due to hostility towards Plato, he said in the first book of his *On Poetry* that dramatic dialogues had been written even before Plato by Alexamenos of Tenos.

Here, the writer uses the influence of Sophron to defend Plato’s reputation, not to tarnish it, as it is implied Aristotle did by claiming the precedent of Alexamenos as the originator of Socratic dialogues.

When Diogenes Laertius in the third century AD says that Sophron’s mimes appear to have been neglected before Plato embraced them (Diog. Laert. 3.18 = Sophr. test. 6), this does not need to mean that they were actually obscure in Sophron’s own time. What Diogenes’ comment reflects is the surprise of the opening of Aristotle’s *Poetics*, where the mimes and Socratic dialogues stand side by side. Since in Diogenes’ sources there was probably no mention of Sophron until the *Poetics*, he might have assumed that attention to them only began with Plato. Although we cannot determine when or even whether Sophron was known in Athens in the time of Plato, it seems likely that he played his part in the thriving poetic developments in Syracuse in the fifth century, so that at least by Aristotle’s time he had become known as an innovator in a Sicilian tradition of prose dialogues, akin, with respect to their character development and dramatic nature, to the Socratic dialogues. The relationship between Epicharmus and Sophron is particularly intriguing. Scholars recognize that the subject matter of Sophron’s mimes distinctly resembles that of the non-mythological fragments of Epicharmus, who was writing in the same city, at the most a generation

¹⁸ Cf. also Sophr. test. 7–11.

¹⁹ περὶ Ποιητικῆς is in fact Aristotle’s lost περὶ Ποιητῶν and Alexamenos’ place of birth is probably Teos, as is stated in other sources, not Tenos; see Haslam (1972) 18–19 for the original transcription of, and commentary on, this fragment.

removed.²⁰ It is also usually assumed that Epicharmus developed much of his material from earlier popular mimic entertainment.²¹ Could it be that Sophron's mimes reflect a refinement of an earlier native tradition, as filtered through the developments of Epicharmus?

Theocritus, in his eighteenth epigram, praises Epicharmus as the founder of comedy. The tone is one of patriotic pride, as evidenced not only by the Doric dialect, but also through the allusion to Epicharmus' dramatic verse in the employment of trochaic tetrameters and iambic trimeters (Theoc. *Epigr.* 18 = Epich. test. 18).²² And yet, when it comes to at least two of Theocritus' *Idylls*, the poetic inspiration for his material and form is connected firmly in the scholia to Sophron (Wendel, p. 270 = Sophr. fr. 5 and Wendel, p. 305).²³ Similarly, Plato's Socrates praises Epicharmus (Pl. *Tht.* 152e5 and *Grg.* 505e1–2), but later tradition links the development of his dialogues to Sophron's mimes. Sophron as a missing link remains elusive, but clearly worthy of pursuit.

From dramatic to quasi-dramatic: mime, drama, and *iambos* in Herodas 8

Solinus, in discussing the important contributions of Sicily, says, “hic primum inventa comoedia, hic et cavillatio mimica in scaena stetit” (Solin. 5. 13 = Sophr. test. 12, “Here comedy, created for the first time, here also mimic jesting stood on the stage”). While this might be seen as evidence that Sophron, like Epicharmus, presented his work for the stage, Solinus is most likely making an unsubstantiated inference from the staged mime of his own day in the third century AD.²⁴ Indeed, there is no documentation for the mode and means of performance of Sophron's mimes. The other earliest attestation of the word *mimos* does emphasize public performance, but the term occurs in quite a different context from its usage in the *Poetics*. Demosthenes, in attacking Philip's character, claims that he loves and keeps close to him obscene types of artists the Athenians have tried to drive out, including μίμους γελοίων, “mime-actors of farce” (Dem. 2.19). Demosthenes focuses on the disgraceful subject matter and

²⁰ Todisco (2002) 42–3; Hordern (2004) 6–7. On Epicharmus' non-mythological dramas, see Kerkhof (2001) 129–33.

²¹ Pickard-Cambridge (1962) 406–13. ²² See the discussion of Handley (2003).

²³ On the connection between *Idylls* 2 and Sophr. frs. 3–9 and *Idylls* 15 and Sophr. fr. 10, see Hordern (2004) 124–46.

²⁴ Hordern (2004) 8 n. 20.

the actors who bring it to life, Aristotle stresses the composers and the significance of the form. Because of this, scholars often refer to later specimens of mime similar to Demosthenes' description as 'popular', to differentiate them from Sophron's 'literary' mimes and the poetic works linked to them, such as Theocritus 2 and 15 and the *Mimiambi*. With respect to popular mime, Athenaeus reports on performers in the Hellenistic period, including various kinds of mimic actors (Athen. 19c–20b and 620d–621d), an Athenian lamp from the third century BC depicts three actors, whom the inscription on the back calls "mime-reciters,"²⁵ and the "Charition" (*P Oxy.* 413 *recto*), dating from the second century AD, indicates several speakers and stage directions.²⁶ This, and other evidence, provides a sense of the range of popular mimic performance. J. H. Hordern, Sophron's most recent editor, has argued Sophron's mimes are unlikely to have had the same mode of performance, due to their 'literary' reputation; their transmission under the name of Sophron, as opposed to the anonymous popular mimes, must have been preserved through learned symposia.²⁷ Nevertheless, as stated above, it is probable that Sophron was influenced by some form of native popular entertainment, as well as by the comedies of Epicharmus. Whether Sophron intended his work for the stage or not, there must be some tangible relationship between the development of his literary form and the dramatic traditions that were around him.

Herodas 8 is concerned deeply with performance and poetic traditions. In the first section (8.1–14) the unnamed speaker berates and threatens two of his slaves in vivid language, something that occurs commonly in the *Mimiambi* and in several fragments of Sophron.²⁸ The second and third sections, however, which feature a cryptic dream (8.14–65) and its interpretation (8.65–79), are atypical, in that the speaker turns out to be Herodas himself, who takes his dream as a confirmation of his divine calling as poet and as an affirmation of his innovative poetry. In the last two fragmentary lines, Herodas pledges to continue "to sing limping songs, after Hipponax of old, to the

²⁵ The full inscription is: ΜΙΜΙΑΩΓΟΙ / ΗΥΠΟΘΗΣΙΣ / ΕΙΚΥΡΑ. In other words, mimic actors performed the "plot" (ἡ ὑπόθεσις) of a comedy entitled the *Mother-in-Law*; Watzinger (1901).

²⁶ On mimic performance, as documented by Egyptian papyri, see Wiemken (1972) 11–44. Specifically for the "Charition" see most recently the edition of Andreassi (2001). On what comprises Greek popular mime, see Cunningham (2002) 355–61 and Hunter (2002) 196–201.

²⁷ Hordern (2004) 8.

²⁸ Herod. 4.42–51, 5.40–6, 6.3–11, and 7.5–13; Sophr. frs. 10, 14, 15, 16f, and, possibly fr. 74–5, in which someone is being insulted and threatened, but the context is unclear; see Hordern (2004) 180–1. It is true that it is a common topos also in comedy for one to disparage slaves, but the probable connection between Herodas and Sophron, as well as the verbal abuse of slaves at Theoc. 2.18–21 and 15.27–33, two poems which are linked explicitly to Sophron in the scholia, suggests a strong mimic influence in these scenes; cf. Hutchinson (1988) 238, 240.

sons of Xuthus” (8. 77–8 μεθ’ Ἰππώνακτα τὸν πάλαι [] / [τ]ᾶ κύλλ’ αἰδεῖν
Ξουθίδαις ἴεπιουσιν[]).²⁹ Here Herodas alludes directly to the meter of the
Mimiambi, the “limping” choliambics closely associated with Hipponax,³⁰
and, with the “sons of Xuthus,” i.e., the Ionians,³¹ he also learnedly references
his literary Ionic dialect, linked again closely to Hipponax. His characteristi-
cally Hellenistic combination of the form of mime with a non-mimic meter
and artificial dialect is similar to Theocritus’ ‘urban mimes’, *Idylls* 2, 14, and
15, composed in hexameters and an artificial dialect that is an imitation
of Sophron’s fifth-century Doric.³² Indeed, because Herodas 8 is overtly
programmatic, many scholars, citing Callim. *Aet.* fr. 1–2 and *Iamb.* 1 and
13, and Theocritus 7 as parallels, have argued that Herodas is defending his
poetic direction in relation to his contemporaries’ own bold experiments.³³
Others have rightly stressed the dramatic context of Herodas’ dream as well
as the mimic first section that introduces it, which sets it apart from other
Hellenistic programmatic poems. What is important for our purposes is that
Herodas is reflecting upon his dramatic and non-dramatic models at least
as much as he is contributing to a contemporary discussion of Alexandrian
aesthetics.

The text of the dream section is very fragmentary, but it is agreed that
Herodas meets Dionysus (8.30–2)³⁴ and that he participates in a game
involving wineskins that most scholars identify as an *askoliasmos*, a contest
generally associated with Dionysian festivals. It is also probable from Hero-
das’ interpretation in the third section, “goatherds were violently divid-
ing it up, / performing their rites” (8.69–70 [... αἰ]πόλοι μιν ἐκ βίης
[ἐδ]αιτρεῦντο / [τ]ᾶ ἔνθεα τελεῦντες), that herdsmen within the dream
in the lacunose lines 47–58 tear apart Herodas’ goat, an instance of rit-
ual Dionysian *sparagmos*.³⁵ Herodas interprets these events as a sign that
he has received “a beautiful gift from Dionysus” (8.68 κ]αλοῦ δῶρον ἐκ
Δ[ιων]ύσου). R. Rosen, in a perceptive article that attempts to explain
Herodas’ combination of traditions, argues that *Mimiamb* 8 functions as
an *apologia* for creating a new genre out of dramatic and iambographic

²⁹ For the text of the *Mimiambi*, unless otherwise noted, I use the editions of Di Gregorio (1997 and 2004).

³⁰ Cf. also Rhin. fr. 8 and Call. *Iamb.* 13. 64–6.

³¹ Cunningham (1971) 203. On the contested place of Xuthus in the west, see Smith, this volume.

³² Cf. Stanzel (1998) 143–50.

³³ Mastromarco (1984) 70–80 provides a good summary of this scholarly debate. More recently, see Lanzara (1993), Rist (1997), and Ypsilanti (2006) 418–27, who all argue to varying degrees that Herodas is in dialogue specifically with Theocritus.

³⁴ The young man is bedecked with a fawnskin (8.30 νεβροῦ χλαν[ι]δίω[ι] κατέζω[σ]το) and wears ivy about his head (8.32 ἀμφὶ κρ[ητὶ κ]ίσσιν[ι]ν’ ἔστειπτο).

³⁵ On the imagery of both the *askoliasmos* and the *sparagmos*, see Di Gregorio (2004) 363–6.

elements: Herodas will continue in the tradition of Hipponax, both in meter and dialect, but with the blessing of Dionysus because of the dramatic form.³⁶ A. Fountoulakis, noting that there is no proof that popular mimes or the literary mimes of Sophron were performed at Dionysian festivals, proposes that Herodas is investing his poetry with the authority of Dionysus so that his critics will take his work seriously as a dramatic genre, despite its humble origins.³⁷

Equating Dionysus with mime and its dramatic origin, or dramatic potential, limits the focus of Herodas' literary influences to two: mime and iambography. If, on the other hand, Dionysus is symbolic of the dramatic theater itself, a third important influence resurfaces: comedy.³⁸ In the midst of the Dionysian imagery within the dream, where Herodas is describing the wineskin game, he says: ὥσπερ τελεῦμεν ἐν χοροῖς Διωνύσου (8.40 "Just as we perform in the dances of Dionysus"). Little attention has been given to the conjunction ὥσπερ here. Herodas compares the actions of the participants in the dream to participants of a Dionysian festival, but the conjunction makes it clear that it is only a comparison. Furthermore, by saying, "as we perform," Herodas is making a type of metatheatrical remark:

³⁶ Rosen (1992) 206–14.

³⁷ Fountoulakis (2002) 310–19. While Fountoulakis investigates the relationship between mime and drama in more depth than Rosen does, he does not fully account for the significance of Hipponax – why Hipponax is invoked and why Herodas composed in sixth-century Ionic and employed the iambographer's choliambic meter – something Rosen attempts to do at length. Both scholars do confront one of the more intriguing passages of Herod. 8, in which Hipponax seems to speak directly to Herodas, threatening to beat him if he does not get out of his sight (8.59–60 ἔρρ' ἐκ προσώπου μὴ σε καίπῃ, ἐρ ὦν πρέσβυς, / οὐλῇ κατ' ἰθὺ τῇ βατηρήϊ κός[ψω]). Rosen (1992) 212–14 suggests that Hipponax is angry at Herodas for mixing his *iambos* with drama; Fountoulakis (2002) 310–11 believes Hipponax is angry because Herodas is mixing *iambos* specifically with the disreputable genre of non-literary mime. I think, on the other hand, that Hipponax's actions represent part of the positive poetic initiation that both Rosen and Fountoulakis rightly stress. As Fountoulakis (2002) 310 observes, Hipponax' literary reputation is of one who is always angry and abusive. Hipponax, by threatening to strike Herodas, initiates him as a choliambic poet: Herodas will limp because of Hipponax's cane, just as much as his meter limps. Herodas makes the same joke in *Mimiamb* 1, where Metrichē threatens to make Gyllis sing her lame song with a limp (1.71 χαλὴν δ' αἰδεῖν χάλ' ἄν ἐξεπαίδευσσας), while she herself, at the same, is speaking in χαλίσμφοι; cf. Kutzko (2007–8) 145.

³⁸ Many have noted similarities in the *Mimiambi* to Old and New Comedy; cf. Krakert (1902); Veneroni (1973); Mastromarco (1991) 173–82; Hunter (1995) 160–9; Di Gregorio (1995). Herod. 8, in particular, has been compared to the first section to the opening of Aristophanes' *Clouds*, and the entire dream, in structure and content, to an Aristophanic parabasis; see Mastromarco (1984) 78–80 and Miralles (1992) 107–11. Fountoulakis (2002) 305–6 also stresses the dramatic influences in the *Mimiambi*. Esposito (2001) 141–50 argues that part of Herodas' comic strategy in 8 is to employ Homeric language and imagery in non-epic situations, a strategy that is also typical of Aristophanes and Hipponax.

his audience is not at a festival of Dionysus, but Herodas acknowledges that the actions in the dream would naturally be viewed and executed in this religious and dramatic context.³⁹ In other words, the Dionysian imagery in the dream does not reflect the dramatic origins of mime or Herodas' aspirations for his work to be regarded as highly as drama, but points to the *Mimiambi*, in their form and, in part, their content, as an imitation of staged drama and its ritual context.

It is just possible that Sophron too is making a metatheatrical reference to staged drama in his own work: ὁ χορογὸς ξύεται (Sophr. fr. 147 "The *choragos* is scratched/scratches himself"). There is no context for this small fragment, which is made up solely of these three words,⁴⁰ but the mention of a *choragos* is interesting. R. Kassel and C. Austin compare Epicharmus fr. 13, suggesting that *choragos* is equivalent to *didaskalos*, and Hordern, taking up this suggestion, interprets this word as referring to the poet himself, not to a chorus leader or producer.⁴¹ Whether the word signifies a chorus leader, producer, director, or playwright, it seems likely, as R. Ferri has observed, that the speaker within the fragment is making a metatheatrical reference to the practices of dramatic theater.⁴² If Sophron was conscious of dramatic theater in his choice of the dialogue form, as Herodas certainly seems to have been, the question is how he viewed his works and wanted his audience to view them in relation to the theater.

³⁹ Fountoulakis (2002) 315 points out that χορός can indicate both dramatic choruses and ritual dances. He chooses not to take ἐν χοροῖς as a dramatic chorus because of the ritual context of the dream. Nonetheless, the conjunction ὥσπερ leaves the semantic ambiguity of the noun intact. Throughout Herod. 8 Dionysus and the characters within the dream engage in religious rituals that, at the same time, also symbolize Herodas' poetry and its relationship to drama. On the likelihood that Herodas and his audience were well acquainted with the popular Dionysian guilds and cults, see Fountoulakis (2002) 316–17. Cf. also Acosta-Hughes in this volume on Theocr. 17. 112–13.

⁴⁰ Photius supplies two examples of Sophron's use of the verb ξύω right next to each other, both of which are contained in Sophr. fr. 147. The second of the two is the one quoted above. The first quote is: αἱ τις τὸν ξύοντα ἀντιξύει ("if someone scratches the scratcher"). As Hordern (2004) 174 notes, there is no reason to believe that these two quotes form the protasis and apodosis of the same sentence.

⁴¹ Kassel and Austin (2001) 246 and Hordern (2004) 174 and 192.

⁴² Ferri (2005) 3: "is this one of those self-referential jokes typically found in Athenian and Roman comedy? did mime actors see themselves as the poor relatives?" See also Bosher (2006) 132–3 and 135–6 on Epicharmus' use of the word χορηγός. Bosher shows that the appearance of this word fits within the metatheatrical nature of much of Epicharmus' work, in its references to Sicilian and Athenian drama. Sophron's audience most probably would have been knowledgeable of both Sicilian and Athenian dramatic practices; see Bosher, this volume, on Aeschylus' Sicilian production of the *Persians*, and Hall, this volume. On Dionysus as a symbol of the theater in Sicilian theater as well as Athenian, see Bosher (2006) 45–61. See Wilson (2007b) for a discussion of this term in Epicharmus in the larger context of choral competition in Sicily.

There is simply not enough direct evidence to answer this question, but Plato's repeated discussions of mimesis and drama offer a possible comparison. In Book 3 of the *Republic*, Socrates clarifies what he means in contrasting narration (διήγησις) and imitation (μίμησις) by rewriting the beginning of the *Iliad* (Hom. *Il.* 1.12–42) entirely in the third-person voice of the author. Socrates then says that the opposite of this pure narration, if Chryses and Agamemnon were to speak entirely in dialogue, would be pure imitation. Adeimantus acknowledges that such mimetic dialogue is the style in which tragedies and comedies are composed (Pl. *Resp.* 393d2–394c5). In the opening section of the *Theaetetus* (*Tht.* 142a–143c7), Plato has Euclides enact this distinction between narration and imitation. Euclides tells Terpsion that he has written a book (τὸ βιβλίον), in which he has recounted a dialogue between Socrates and Theaetetus, an actual conversation between the two men, but one that Euclides had to piece together over an unspecified period of time by repeatedly interviewing Socrates about the event (142c5–143b5). He tells Terpsion that he has omitted all of the narrative elements from the dialogue, such as “I said” or “he agreed” (143b8–c4), to portray the speakers as though they really were conversing with one another (143c4–5 τοῦτων ἕνεκα ὡς αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς διαλεγόμενον ἔγραψα, ἐξελὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα). After Euclides orders his slave to read (143c7 ἀλλὰ, παῖ, λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λέγε), Plato portrays the rest of the dialogue in the direct speech of Socrates and his interlocutors. This is obviously an imitation of the dramatic mode for an audience aware of dramatic practices.⁴³

As dramatic dialogues, this is most likely the reason that the anonymous papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, discussed above, links Plato directly to Sophron (*P Oxy.* 3219 = Sophr. test. 4, Σ]ώφρον[α] μειμησάμενος τὸν μιμογράφον κα(τὰ) τὸ δραματικὸν τῶν διαλόγων, “having imitated the mime-writer Sophron with respect to the dramatic nature of his dialogues”). M. Haslam has argued convincingly that the writer here is employing a common classification system in which *dramatikos* and *mimetikos* are formally equated.⁴⁴ The mimes of Sophron are dramatic not only in their mode, but also in

⁴³ Indeed, the opening of the *Theaetetus* seems self-consciously to be an imitation of metatheater: if Plato's actual audience is listening to a slave recite this dialogue, then they are listening to a slave reading a book in which two characters ask a slave to read from a book. In the dialogue proper, the slave in front of the audience would mimic the slave within the dialogue, who is mimicking the direct speech of Socrates and his interlocutors. On the question of the possible performative contexts of the Socratic dialogues, see Blondell (2002) 23–5; see also Arieti (1991) 1–17.

⁴⁴ Haslam (1972) 20–4 supplies many examples, illustrating that ‘dramatic’ often refers to a dramatic structure or, more commonly, realistic character-portrayal (μίμησις προσώπων), instead of only denoting staged drama.

their realistic presentation of realistic characters in realistic situations. In this respect indeed, Plato and Sophron have much in common: they both compose in prose and in the spoken dialects of their time (Attic and Doric, respectively).

This is where Herodas departs from his models. By invoking Hipponax (8.78–9), he stresses his actual distance from Attic drama, both in Hipponax's non-dramatic choliambic meter and his genre of *iambos*.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the meter and the dialect, which approximates Hipponax' sixth-century Ionic, betray a formal artifice that is foreign to the world of mime. All of the extant examples of popular mime, like those of Sophron, are composed in a contemporary spoken dialect and, mostly, in prose.⁴⁶ While Herodas certainly was influenced by Hipponax in more than one way,⁴⁷ what stands out is his allegiance to the meter and dialect that signify his active divergence from the norms of both mime and drama.⁴⁸ In the first section of Mime 8, Herodas portrays a typically mimic scenario: a rustic character verbally abuses his slaves in vivid language. The second section is evocative of a Dionysian cult/dramatic context. At the end of the third section, Herodas vows to go forward, continuing to compose poetry that combines the elements from the first two sections, but in the non-mimic and non-dramatic style of Hipponax.⁴⁹ In doing so, Herodas promises to evoke drama and mime in his work without reproducing these genres mimetically. Seen in this way, the *Mimiambi* are truly quasi-dramatic, in that they are imitations of realistic depictions of realistic characters through a dialogue form. This quasi-dramatic form is only possible because of his mimetic

⁴⁵ See Bowie (2002) 37–40 on *iambos* and comedy as distinctly separate genres, even while they share similarities in content.

⁴⁶ See Cunningham (1971) 7–10.

⁴⁷ On lexical and thematic similarities, cf. Smotrytsch (1966) 61–2 and Ussher (1980) 72–4.

⁴⁸ The use of the Hipponactean meter was particularly popular in the Hellenistic era, employed in wide variety of ways, in Callimachus' *Iambi*, the extant fragments of Phoenix and Cercidas, and others; cf. Acosta-Hughes (2002) 3.

⁴⁹ There are those who see in the last lines of *Mimiamb* 8 Herodas pondering what type of poetry he will pursue now, pure iambs or the choliambos of Hipponax (8.75–9):

..] κλέος, ναὶ Μοῦσαν, ἥ μ' ἔπειτα κ[
 μ]εγ' ἐξ ἰάμβων, ἥ με δευτέρῃ γν[
 .μ..ς μεθ' ἱππώνακτα τὸν παλαι[
 τ]ὰ κύλλ' αἰεῖδεν Ξουθίδαις ἱετίουσι[

Cf. Rosen (1992) 214–16 and Rist (1997) 359–61). For the history of emendations to support this view, see Di Gregorio (2004) 391–4, who remains skeptical. Like Di Gregorio and Cunningham (1971) 203–4, I think the text is too lacunose to conclude that Herodas is talking about two types of poetry. I take ἰάμβων (77) and κύλλ' (79) to be referring to the meter of all of the *Mimiambi*, just as in Callimachus' *Iambi*, both ἰαμβον (Call. *Iamb.* 1.3) and χαλὰ (*Iamb.* 13. 14 and 66) refer to Hipponax' choliambos, the meter in which Callimachus is composing.

models, just as his innovations within the *mimiamb*s are dependent upon his use of comedy and mime.

Reshaping traditions: male and female dramas/mimes in Herodas 6 and 7

Let us now look at a specific example that may clarify the similarities and differences between Attic Comedy and Doric mime and Herodas' debt to them both. The *Mimiambi* and Theocritus' urban *Idylls* are notable for their focus on gender-specific scenarios. Herodas 1, 4, and 6 feature the dialogues of women and Herodas 2 is a male monologue. Similarly, Theocritus 2 is a female monologue, Theocritus 15 features the dialogue of women, and Theocritus 14 is a male dialogue. Sophron is frequently cited as a precedent for these male and female short sketches.⁵⁰ In his second-century BC work on the mimes of Sophron, Apollodorus classifies Sophron's pieces as *mimoi andreioi* and *mimoi gunaikeioi* (Athen. 89A, 281E, and 309C–D; Sophr. test. 22). Choricus (Sophr. test. 7) and the Suidas (Sophr. test. 1) also report that Sophron wrote separate male and female mimes, and a *sillybus* dating from the early second century AD bears the title, “Σώφρονος μῖμοι γυναικεῖοι” (Sophr. test. 1, “the female mimes of Sophron”). Whether Sophron formally classified his own work in this way, it is clear that the dominance of either male or female characters was a characteristic of his work.

Plato once again furnishes controversial evidence for Sophron's influence. The discussion of a woman's place in the *Republic* begins with a direct allusion to a dramatic tradition of male and female pieces: τάχα δὲ οὕτως ἂν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι, μετὰ ἀνδρεῖον δράμα παντελῶς διαπερανθέν τὸ γυναικεῖον αὖ περαίνειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ σὺ οὕτω προκαλῇ (Pl. *Resp.* 451c “Perhaps it would be right, then, after the male drama has come to a close, to proceed on to the female drama, especially since you are demanding so”). It is tempting to see this as a reference to Sophron, reflecting Plato's exposure to his work in Sicily.⁵¹ However, while *drama* and *mimos* might be similar words in the context of a dialogue,⁵² in Aristophanes Agathon specifically talks about composing female dramas (Ar. *Thesm.* 151 γυναικεῖ ἦν ποιῇ τις δράματα).

⁵⁰ For the influence of Sophron on Herodas in this regard, see, for example, Ussher (1980) 66–7; on Theocr. 2 and 15 as female mimes and Theocr. 14 as a male mime, see Griffiths (1979) 120 and Burton (1995) 42–6; cf. also Hordern (2004) 27–8.

⁵¹ Indeed, this is how it has often been interpreted; cf. Clay (1994) 37.

⁵² See n. 44 above. It is certainly plausible that Plato would have referred to Sophron's work as ‘dramas’. The most judicious and thorough examination of whether Plato is alluding to Sophron is McDonald (1931) 134–6.

and male dramas (Ar. *Thesm.* 154 ἀνδρεῖα δ' ἦν ποιῆ τις).⁵³ It cannot be ruled out that Plato is referring to an Attic practice instead of, or, perhaps, in addition to, a Doric one. Whether there is any relationship between Attic *dramata gunaikeia* and Sophron's *mimoi gunaikeioi* and *andreioi*, it is most probable that Herodas, as we saw before in the specific case of Mimiamb 8, is reflecting both Attic and Doric influences throughout his own male and female mimiambs.

A situation in one of Sophron's female mimes that has distinct parallels in both Aristophanes and Herodas is fr. 23:

τίνες δ' ἐντί ποκα, φίλα, τοῖδε τοὶ μακροὶ κόγχοι; :: σωλῆνές θην τοῦτο γὰ,
γλυκύκρεον κογχύλιον, χηρᾶν γυναικῶν λίχνευμα.

A: What ever are these long shellfish, dear?

B: These are the very razor-shell, a shellfish of sweet meat, a delicacy for widows.

Demetrius cites these lines as an example of jokes that are “more suited to mimic drama” (μυμικώτερα) and “vulgar” (αἰσχροῦ, *Eloc.* 151). The long, narrow shape of a razor-shell, which is a mollusk, and the description of it as “a delicacy for widows,” indicate that these two women are actually viewing dildoes.⁵⁴ In trying to appreciate such a scene, our lack of knowledge of how Sophron's mimes were performed is a distinct disadvantage. Are the characters in this fragment actually actors on the stage with props, or is this being recited by one person to an audience who must conjure up the action in their minds? In either case, the scene constitutes one of the many examples in classical literature of what would be a fantasy or anxiety for the audience: what women do when they are not in the company of men. Aristophanes also focuses on this early in the *Lysistrata*, when Lysistrata laments what the Peloponnesian War has done to her love life (Ar. *Lys.* 107–10):

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μοιχοῦ καταλέλειπται φεψάλυξ.
ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἡμᾶς προὔδοσαν Μιλήσιοι,
οὐκ εἶδον οὐδ' ὀλισβον ὀκτωδάκτυλον,
ὅς ἦν ἂν ἡμῖν σκυτίνη 'πικουρία.

⁵³ What this means exactly is unclear. From the response of Euripides' in-law, who makes a vulgar joke about composing a *Phaedra* (Ar. *Thesm.* 153), it would seem that δρᾶμα γυναικεῖα is referring to the gendered title or dominant subject of a given play, but Ferri (2005) n. 5 thinks that Agathon is referring to the gender of choruses.

⁵⁴ Hordern (2004) 157–8. As Hordern observes, χηρᾶν γυναικῶν may refer to actual widows or to women who are simply without men.

But now not even the spark of a lover remains.
 Ever since the Milesians betrayed us,
 I haven't even seen a six-inch dildo,
 which might have been a leather aid to us.

Lysistrata implies that normally if one's husband is absent, there is always a willing adulterer, and if there are no men around whatsoever, at least one has recourse to a dildo. Now, however, the war has taken away all the men and Miletos' defection to Sparta has deprived her of dildoes.⁵⁵

Herodas goes one step further with this fantasy in *Mimiamb* 6. Metro asks Koritto where she purchased her scarlet dildo (6.19 τὸν κόκκινον βαυβῶνα) and Koritto divulges that a cobbler named Kerdon came to her house with his remarkable wares (6.65–70):

ἀλλ' ἔργ', ὅκοῖ' ἔστ' ἔργα· τῆς Ἀθηναίης
 αὐτῆς ὁρήν τ' ἄς χεῖρας, οὐχὶ Κέρδωνος,
 δόξεις. ἐ[νὸς]⁵⁶ μέν – δύο γὰρ ἦλθ' ἔχων, Μητροῖ –
 ἰδοῦσ' ἀμίλλη(ι) τῶμματ' ἐξεκύμηνα.
 τα βαλλι' οὕτως ἄνδρες οὐχὶ ποιεῦσι
 – αὐταὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν – ὀρθά·

but his work – what work it is! The craftsmanship of
 Athena herself, not Kerdon, you'll think you see.
 For one – he came with two of them, Metro –
 I looked with a yearning, and my eyes bulged out.
 Men do not make their own tricks so – well,
 we are alone – erect.

As R. J. Finnegan has observed, the depictions of the dildo in Aristophanes, Sophron, and Herodas as a substitute, or even as a replacement, for a man “are examples of how men imagine or desire women to behave, when freed from the restrictions of male control.”⁵⁷ However, where Aristophanes uses the common word for dildo, *olisbos*, Sophron employs a euphemism in having his speaker refer only to a razor-shell, as does Herodas, who uses the *hapax* “*baubon*” in place of Aristophanes' direct obscenity.⁵⁸ Generally, in

⁵⁵ Henderson (1987) 80–1.

⁵⁶ This is the supplement of Kutzko (2000) 35–37. Most editors print ἐ[γὼ]; cf. Di Gregorio (2004) 187–8.

⁵⁷ Finnegan (1992) 31–2. Cf. Santelia (1989), who also compares Aristophanes, Sophron, and Herodas in their treatments of this topic.

⁵⁸ On this *hapax* and the history of its interpretation, see Di Gregorio (2004) 130–2. Santelia (1989) 77–8 discusses the word-choice of ὀλισβος and βαυβῶν in terms of ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ connotations, respectively. I stress Herodas' choice strictly as a departure from the vulgar language of Aristophanes.

fact, both Sophron and Herodas refrain from the sexually explicit language of Attic Old Comedy.⁵⁹ Sophron employs more shellfish imagery in fr. 24, in which a woman speaks of conches gaping open, with their flesh sticking out (fr. 24.2 κεχάναντι ἄμιν πᾶσαι, τὸ δὲ κρῆς ἐκάστας ἐξέχει).⁶⁰ In fr. 38, ἃ δ' ἄμφ' ἄλητα κυπτάζει ("she bends over the barley meal"), the scholia to the *Acharnians* imply that Sophron is referring to a woman engaging in oral sex, with the suggestive verb "bends" and a pun between ἄλητα ("barley meal") and φάλητα ("penises").⁶¹ Herodas' entire sixth mimiamb is about women purchasing dildoes, but the actual word occurs only once and, as we have seen, Herodas does not use the vulgar *olisbos*, but the *hapax* "*baubon*" (6.19). Even when Koritto compares Kerdon's merchandise to men's penises, she does so with another euphemistic *hapax* "*ballia*" (Herod. 6.69). The derivation is uncertain, but there is obviously a pun here with *phallos*.⁶² The women in Sophron and Herodas talk about explicit matters while apart from men, but they do not employ the explicit language of Attic Comedy.

The main reason for the lack of direct obscenity in Herodas, at least, is because his work is essentially a comedy of manners. In this, the *Mimiambi* have more in common with New Comedy than Old Comedy. It is well known that in the period between Aristophanes and Menander plots became more mundane and vulgar language all but disappeared.⁶³ Character development in New Comedy derives from the depiction of 'realistic' reactions to 'realistic' situations.⁶⁴ The sexual situations and obscene language in Aristophanes

⁵⁹ Henderson (1991) 25–6 illustrates the Sicilian technique in both Epicharmus and Sophron of primarily using mild puns and double entendres, in contrast to the more vulgar puns and explicit obscenities in Attic Comedy and Ionian iambic poetry. With respect to scatological humor, however, Sophron does employ language and imagery similar to that of the playwrights and iambic poets; see Hordern (2004) 139–42 and 147–8 on Sophr. frs. 4D and 11.

⁶⁰ See Hordern (2004) 159. Although Hordern acknowledges that the speaker is a woman and that the conch here is referring to a vagina, he seems to think that this is referring to heterosexual intercourse, involving several male and female participants. There is no evidence for this in the fragment, but rather the context suggests sexual activity between women. Fr. 25 also contains a description of shellfish, and Hordern (2004) 159–60 suggests that, as in fr. 23, the two women here are discussing dildoes, since the shrimp and lobsters in the fragment are praised for their red color and smoothness (fr. 25.2 θᾶσαι μὲν ὡς ἐρυθραί τ' ἐντὶ καὶ λειοτριχῶσαι), two of the qualities Kerdon's merchandise possessed in Herod. 6.

⁶¹ See Hordern (2004) 165. Interestingly, the scholia to the *Lysistrata* also cite a sexual use of κυπτάζω in Sophron: ἐνθάδε κυπτάζοντι πλεῖστοι γυναικες (fr. 40 "here most of the women bend over").

⁶² Merone (1953) 7–8, argues that the diminutive form of the *hapax* βαλλία also cuts the directness of φαλλός. On the possible derivations of βαλλία, see Di Gregorio (2004) 188–9.

⁶³ For the continuation of sexual humor in Menander through double entendres see Krauss and Miner (2009).

⁶⁴ By 'realistic' I mean, like Hunter (1985) 12, simply that the characters are placed in, and react to, situations within the realm of actual experience, versus the flights of fantasy in Aristophanes.

tend to serve the overall fantastic world of Old Comedy. While the *Lysistrata* does depict women discussing sex, it does so in the fantastic context of being able to stop the Peloponnesian War through a sex strike. However, although Herodas develops an interest in his characters through their reactions to mundane situations in a similar way to Menander, the subject matter of *Mimiamb* 6 is foreign to what we have of New Comedy. Sophron again proves to be the missing link. The fragments of Sophron suggest that vulgar situations do not serve an elaborate plot, nor do they contribute to a general tone of political or social satire, as they do in Aristophanes, but that they function solely to reveal the *mores* of Sophron's characters in their reactions to sexual subjects. This is true of Herodas 6, and even more so of its companion piece, Herodas 7.

Herodas 6 ends with Metro leaving Koritto to find out more about Kerdon and his merchandise (Herod. 6.95–6). Herod. 7 begins with Metro and some of her friends actually going to visit Kerdon's shoe shop (7. 1–4):

(MH.) Κέρδων, ἄγω σοι τάσδε τὰς γ[υνάς, εἴ]⁶⁵ τι
τῶν σῶν ἔχεις αὐτῇσι δέξιοι δειῖται
χειρέων νοήρες ἔργον.

(KE.) οὐ μάτην, Μητροῖ,
ἐγὼ φ[ι]λ[έ]ω σε.

METRO: Kerdon, I bring these [women] to you [if]
you have some skillful work worthy of
your hands to show them.

KERDON: Not for nothing, Metro,
do I love you.

With this opening situation, Herodas could have realized the obscene potential of another scene in the *Lysistrata* where Aristophanes again addresses men's anxiety about what women do when they are not there. The Proboulos tells the chorus of old men that women no longer know their place because their husbands have catered too much to their needs. As one example, he describes a man who agrees to have his wife's sandals fixed (Ar. *Lys.* 414–19):

ἕτερος δέ τις πρὸς σκυτοτόμον ταδί λέγει
νεανίαν καὶ πέος ἔχοντ' οὐ παιδικόν·
‘ὦ σκυτοτόμε, τῆς μου γυναικὸς τοῦ ποδὸς
τὸ δακτυλίδιον πιέζει τὸ ζυγόν,

⁶⁵ γ[υνάς] is the supplement of Diels and εἴ] is the supplement of Blass and Ellis, as printed in Cunningham (2002) 258.

ἄθ' ἄπαλόν ὄν· τοῦτ' οὖν σὺ τῆς μεσημβρίας
ἐλθὼν χάλασον, ὅπως ἂν εὐρυτέρως ἔχη.

And another man says this to a shoemaker,
a virile one with no kid's dick:
"Shoemaker, the cross-strap pinches my wife's
little toe, seeing that it's tender.
So come around during the afternoon
and loosen it, so it'll wear wider."

The man asks the shoemaker to fix his wife's sandal so that it will not pinch her toe. Nonetheless, the Proboulos jokes that the man's request, through unwitting double-entendres, could also be interpreted by the shoemaker as an invitation to come into the man's house to have sex with his wife (Ar. *Lys.* 415).⁶⁶ Herodas quite significantly does not dwell on the obscene possibilities inherent in such a scene. As in 6, he employs a comic situation only as a starting point from which to develop his characters.⁶⁷

As a comedy of manners, Herodas 6 depicts women who want to keep their public dignity, but who are unable to keep secrets as they pursue private desires. When Metro asks Koritto who made her dildo, Koritto, surprised, asks Metro in turn how she knew about it (6.18–20). When Metro tells her that Nossis had shown it to her, Koritto, again surprised, asks how Nossis got it (20–2). After Metro gets Koritto to swear that she will not tell, she reveals that Euboule had given it to Nossis, ordering her not to tell anyone (22–6). Koritto confirms that she loaned her dildo to Euboule, after she begged to have it, and she then curses Euboule for giving out what was not hers in the first place (27–31). Metro apologizes for getting Koritto angry, saying that because of her gossiping her tongue should be cut out (37–41), but then immediately resumes asking about the maker of Koritto's dildo (42–7). Unlike Aristophanes, who exploits vulgar situations for comic effect, Herodas, in this *mimos gunaikeios*, does not focus primarily on the vulgar topic itself, but rather on how his characters react to the given situation.

⁶⁶ On the double-entendres in this passage, see Henderson (1992) 138.

⁶⁷ There are those who have read Herod. 7 as obscene, arguing that Metro and her friends are really shopping for dildoes, and that each time Kerdon says "shoes," he is really displaying dildoes; cf. Rist (1993) 440–4. I follow Lawall (1976) 168 and others who stress the public domain of 7 versus the private domain of 6. In 6, the women only feel comfortable talking about dildoes because they are alone (6.15–17 and 67), and Kerdon is said to sell them discretely door-to-door (6.63–4), nor is his shoe shop mentioned. The humor and tension in 7 derive from the fact that the women in the public of Kerdon's shoe shop only want to buy shoes; see most recently Zanker (2009) 215.

While 6 is a female mime, Herodas inserts a physical description of Kerdon that promises the possibility of a male mime to come (6.57–62):

(KO.) οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἔστιν, ὡς λέγεις, Μητροῖ·
 ἀλλ' οὗτος οὐκ οἶδ' ἢ Χίου τις ἢ ῥυθρέων
 ἦκει, φαλακρός, μικρός· αὐτὸ ἑρεῖς εἶναι
 Πρηξίνον, οὐδ' ἂν σῦκον εἰκάσαι σύκῳ
 ἔχοις ἂν οὔτω· πλὴν ἐπὶ λalλῆι, γνώσῃ
 Κέρδων ὅτενέκ' ἔστι καὶ οὐχὶ Πρηξίνος.

KORITTO: He's not either of those, as you say, Metro.
 But this one – I don't know whether he's from Chios
 or Erythrae – is bald, small. You'd say he was
 Prexinos, and you wouldn't think a fig could be
 so like a fig, except when he chatters. Then
 you would know it's Kerdon, and not Prexinos.

Bald characters are often the subject of ridicule on the comic and mimic stage, as are shoemakers.⁶⁸ Koritto's description gives a vivid impression of what type of character Kerdon is. When he talks, he lives up to his name: Κέρδων longs for κέρδος (“personal gain”). There is probably also a similar pun on Prexinos' name, as connected with πρῆξις, the Ionic for πρᾶξις (“business transaction”).⁶⁹ The joke, as paraphrased into English, is probably something like, “Profitt looks just like Goodseller until he opens his mouth.” A male mime, to a major extent, is what indeed follows Herodas 6. Kerdon speaks 107 of the 129 lines of the mimiamb, and often appears more to be engaging in a soliloquy than participating in a dialogue. His character, in fact, is developed through his long speeches, rather than in his interaction with the other characters, much more akin to the monologue of Battaros the pimp in Mimiamb 2, Herodas' only pure male mime, than to the other mimiambs that feature a dialogue. This aspect of Herodas 2 and 7 may have been influenced by Sophron's depiction of Boulias, who, in spite of his name, which is derived from βουλή (“counsel”), was probably exposed as a poor counselor, given that his speeches were rambling and did not hold together in any way (Sophr. fr. 104 = Demetr. *Eloc.* 153 ἢ δὲ τοιαύτη ἀνακολουθία καλεῖται γρίφος, ὥσπερ ὁ παρὰ Σώφρονι ῥητορεύων Βουλίας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀκόλουθον αὐτῷ λέγει).⁷⁰

From the very beginning, when Kerdon says his love for Metro is not fruitless (7.3 οὐ μάτην), his words are centered on his own personal gain. It becomes clear that Kerdon does not care whether this gain comes from

⁶⁸ See Headlam and Knox (1922) xlviii–l.

⁶⁹ Cf. Headlam and Knox (1922) 304. ⁷⁰ See Hordern (2004) 186.

selling shoes or from his less reputable merchandise. In a long catalogue of what Kerdon has for sale, among legitimate names for shoes are some more dubious and suggestive ones, among which are “scarlettes” (7.61 κοκκίδες), recalling Koritto’s scarlet dildo (6.19 τὸν κόκκινον βαυβῶνα), and “ephebes” (7.61 ἔφηβοι). He ends the catalogue by inviting his customers to pick what they want, so they will know why women and dogs devour leather (7.62–3 ὥς ἂν αἰσθοιοσθε / σκύττα γυναικῆς καὶ κύνες τί βρώζουσιν). This remark has rightly been interpreted as sexually suggestive, insinuating that the women might be thinking about dildoes as well as shoes.⁷¹ Later, in a very unsubtle compliment to Metro, where Kerdon calls Metro’s tongue a “sieve of pleasure” (7.111 ἔχεις γὰρ οὐχὶ γλάσσαν, ἡδονῆς δ’ ἡθμὸν), it becomes obvious that Kerdon is not only interested in financial gain, but sexual gain as well.⁷² Kerdon’s final words of the mimiamb firmly establish how he views his female customers. He first addresses Metro’s friends (7.124–6), telling them that whether they desire sandals (7.125 σαμβαλίσκων) or what they are accustomed to put on at home (7.125–6 ἃ κατ’ οἰκίην ἔλκειν / εἴθισθε), they should send their slaves to his shop. He then turns to Metro (7.127–9):

σὺ δ’ ἦκε, Μητροῖ πρόσ με τῇ ἐνάτῃ πάντως
ὅκως λάβῃς καρκίνια· τὴν γὰρ οὖν βαίτην
θάλπουσαν εὖ δεῖ ὕδον φρονεῖντα καὶ ῥαπτειν.

But you, Metro, by all means come to me on the ninth
to get your crabettes: for the man who’s mindful must
even stitch the cloak which warms well indoors.

The exact meaning of these final lines is disputed, but most have taken “crabettes” as another reference to a dildo, since καρκίνια appear in Kerdon’s earlier catalogue (7.60) and their red color is reminiscent of the scarlet color of Koritto’s dildo at Herodas 6.19. The obscure proverb in the last two lines further suggests a future, if not present, sexual relationship between the shoemaker and Metro.⁷³ The final picture of Kerdon, as displayed throughout the mimiamb, is of a man who does not care about the source of his profit, as long as he does ultimately profit.

If Kerdon were the only speaker in Herodas 7, we might assume that his customers were approving of his sales pitch. The appeal of the mimiamb,

⁷¹ See Di Gregorio (2004) 282–3 and Zanker (2009) 207.

⁷² The lines around Kerdon’s compliment are lacunose, but they further confirm the sexual innuendo. Kerdon says that Metro is able to elevate him, a cobbler made of stone, to the gods (7.108–9 τὸν πίσ[υγγον] / ἐόντα λίθινον ἐς θεοὺς ἀναπτῆναι) and that the man for whom she opens her lips day and night (7.112 ὅτεω[ι] σὺ χεῖλεα νύκτα κήμερην οἷγ[εις]) is not far off from the gods.

⁷³ On these last lines, see Di Gregorio (2004) 322–4.

then, would be entirely on the double entendres and Kerdon's scurrilous nature. Nevertheless, Herodas has chosen significantly not to compose 7 as a pure male mime. The character of Metro and her circle of friends, as developed in the female mime of Herod. 6, informs her reactions to Kerdon in 7. Metro twice disapproves of Kerdon's behavior.⁷⁴ After Kerdon's catalogue and suggestive language about women devouring leather (7.57–63), Metro, while asking for the price of a pair of shoes, adds, "Only don't turn us / to flight by thundering more loudly" (7.65 ἀλλὰ μὴ βροντέων / ῥῆτος σὺ τρέψῃς μέζον εἰς φυγὴν ἡμέας). She warns that if he oversteps his bounds, thundering like Zeus, she will take his customers away.⁷⁵ She not only disapproves of his behavior, but continues to try to keep the topic of conversation firmly on the price of shoes (7.77–8 and 95–9). In Herodas 6, the women talk about dildoes only because they think that they will not be heard; in 7, the *mores* of Metro and her friends have not changed. Even through the words of Kerdon, we learn that other women scorn, at least in public, his business dealings: he says that one woman jeers at his wife (7.103–4) and he yells at a woman cackling in the doorway, who has obviously been spying in on Kerdon's transaction (7.123–4). Thus, the real appeal of Mimiamb 7 is in the tension between the *mores* of the female characters and those of Kerdon, who does not differentiate between public and private concerns.

J. H. Hordern has pointed out that in Sophron's male and female mimes, characters of the opposite sex seem to sometimes play a minor part.⁷⁶ This is true also of Herodas 4 and Theocritus 15, which both feature women exclusively except for one small section each: the sacristan at Herodas 4.79–85 and two festival bystanders at Theocritus 15.72 and 87–8. In Mimiamb 7, however, Herodas has truly combined aspects of a *mimos gunaikeios* and *mimos andreios*, in order to explore what happens when distinctly male and female perspectives clash with one another. Whatever Metro's actual personal involvement is with Kerdon,⁷⁷ she, like the other women in her circle, is jeopardizing her public reputation by dealing with a man who only cares about personal gain.

⁷⁴ I follow Cunningham (1971) 175 and Zanker (2009) 200 in believing that the only two speakers of Herod. 7 are Kerdon and Metro. Di Gregorio (2004) assigns lines 1–3 to Metro, but then assigns the rest of the lines not spoken by Kerdon to one of Metro's unnamed friends.

⁷⁵ Cunningham (1971) 183. ⁷⁶ Hordern (2004) 4–5.

⁷⁷ Kutzko (2006) 172–8 argues that Metro in Herod. 6 is already intimately knowledgeable of Kerdon and his dildoes, and that the point of her questions is to determine whether her secret is still intact, as opposed to Koritto's, which has been exposed by their shared group of friends. Zanker (2009) 215 and 217 n. 7 believes rather that Metro and Kerdon had become intimate in the space of time between the end of Herod. 6 and the beginning of Herod. 7.

Herodas 6 and 7 are remarkable because of how they enhance each other's meaning. As a diptych they are unlike anything before them.⁷⁸ Certainly, there are previous examples of paired poems. One precedent that might well have influenced Herodas is Hipponax 32 and 34 (West). In the one fragment Hipponax asks Hermes for a cloak (32.4 δὸς χλαῖναν Ἰππώνακτι) and in the other we find that Hermes did not give it to him (34.1 ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔδωκας οὔτέ κω χλαῖναν). Hipponax here presents one situation viewed from two angles: the present and the past. Herodas, however, offers two different situations that are only linked by the names of the characters involved. Another precedent, of course, is drama. In fact, Herod. 6 ends in a way that is typical of a dramatic scene: one character says farewell to another character, while announcing what she will do next. Nevertheless, when Metro tells Koritto that she will now go to Artemeis to find out more about Kerdon (6. 95–8), we would expect, if this were a scene in a play, that the next scene would be with Metro and Artemeis or, perhaps with Metro and Kerdon in their first meeting. This is not what happens. In actuality, this particular diptych is influenced less by *iambos* and drama than Herodas' other major influence, Sophron. In Mimiamb 6 Herodas develops the character traits of a group of women through the private conversation of Metro and Koritto, but he also suggests a certain male character type through Koritto's description of Kerdon and what he does in private. In 7, then, Herodas explores what happens when this particular male mime type and female mime type appear in the public sphere together.

Hellenistic poets, for the most part, do not simply pilfer from the past – using what they need to create a brand new, artificial creation – but look back thoughtfully at different pieces of the rich Greek literary tradition with which they are hoping to have a meaningful dialogue, so that they may keep the tradition alive.⁷⁹ Sophron plays a major part in Herodas' dialogue with the past. Unfortunately, like so many of the models for Hellenistic poetry, Sophron's corpus is almost entirely lacking. However, as we have seen, he remains an important figure, both for the claim that he was the originator of Sicilian mime and for his connection in later writers to Plato. His own literary development must remain an open question, but it is likely, particularly in light of the contributions to this volume, that he was influenced both by

⁷⁸ In fact, the closest parallels to the technique of composition in this diptych are to be found in Roman Elegy. For a specific comparison between Herod. 6 and 7 and Ov. *Am.* 2.7–8, see Kutzko (2006) 169–72.

⁷⁹ For a similar point of view, applied specifically to the poetry of Theocritus, see Hunter (1996).

Epicharmus and Attic drama, in the probable interactions between Syracusan and Athenian writers in the fifth century. It is also likely that his short dramatic dialogues, in their focus on character and everyday situations, were influential for Plato. Herodas, who is reflecting back on Athenian comedy, Ionic iambic poetry, and Sicilian mime among other poetic forms, allows us to see Sophron's influence and his difference in focus from playwrights, both Attic and Sicilian, more concretely.

17 | “Nor when a man goes to Dionysus’ holy
contests” (Theocritus 17.112)

Outlines of theatrical performance in Theocritus

BENJAMIN ACOSTA-HUGHES

Prologue

To conclude this volume with a discussion of the third century BC Sicilian poet Theocritus is in some aspects unsurprising. Though resident for at least part of his career in Alexandria at the court of the early Ptolemies, Theocritus came originally from Syracuse, composed poetry in a literary Doric (and in a few cases with marked Aeolic coloring), is indebted to both Sophron and Epicharmus in his work, and treats several mythological themes, among them Pentheus and the Bacchantes (*Idyll* 26), the marriage of Helen and Menelaus (*Idyll* 18) and the Cyclops (*Idylls* 6 and 11), that had already been the subject of extensively varied generic treatment in tragedy (especially in the work of Euripides). Perhaps more significantly, Theocritus is himself the product of western Greek culture, including its dramatic culture, and so represents for us something of a reflective window onto that culture – he is not a poet from Athens, nor, for that matter, from Boeotian Thebes, but from Syracuse. His is the Syracusan verse that Virgil evokes in the opening line of the sixth *Eclogue*.

Yet when the editor first wrote to me proposing that I contribute a piece to this volume on the topic of Theocritus and performance, I must admit that I was initially somewhat taken aback, though at the time I could not exactly articulate the reason for my hesitation. On further reflection I realized that my initial reaction was due not so much to the topic itself, which is a challenging and potentially rich one, as to my own early training in Hellenistic poetry. For long a popular conception of Alexandrian culture was a large-scale absence of theatrical performance, and indeed of poetic performance of any kind. In spite of the preservation of large numbers of earlier theatrical authors in papyri, and though we attain much of the information we have on Greek theater from the Hellenistic world,¹ it was long sustained that the type of popular theatrical performance that characterized fifth-century

¹ Csapo and Slater (1995) 239–55; Lightfoot (2002).

Athens, and for that matter the song performance characteristic of Archaic lyric, was incompatible with Alexandrian court culture. Even though a case like that of Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, a poem that we know to have been performed at the *ludi saeculari* in 17 BC, or those of Callimachus' first *Hymn* or Theocritus' *Idyll* 24, now widely believed to have been commissioned for the *Basileia* of 285 BC,² might have suggested a more cautious approach here, the general prejudice that perceived most extant Hellenistic poetry as primarily, if not exclusively, the product of a bookish culture, designed for the private enjoyment of a very learned elite, continued to hold sway.

Callimachus and theater

As with so many aspects of the discourse on the poetry of this period, the climate is different now in the years that have followed on Alan Cameron's very influential, if not uncontroversial, 1995 book *Callimachus and his Critics*. Cameron from the first makes a strong and well-documented case for the wealth and variety of occasions for poetic performance in the Hellenistic world, and this may indeed be one of the most valuable long-term contributions of Cameron's book. While we had long been aware of the role of the court in terms of poetic patronage, there was something of a disconnect in Hellenistic poetry scholarship when it came to questions of poetic performance. Some poems of Callimachus, for example, are occasional pieces: the *Victories* of Berenice and Sosibius, and the *Lock of Berenice* are obvious examples. Recent work on Callimachus' *Hymns* has now framed the question of their possible original performance very differently than was the custom even fifteen years ago. Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, for example, which many modern interpreters defined as "mimetic" or imitative of an actual performed hymn, a number of scholars now argue to have been very likely associated with the cult of Apollo at Cyrene, and indeed to have been initially a hymn for occasional performance like any other. Indeed the very indications once held to mark the poem's character as literary mimesis of performance, the opening evocations of sight and sound, can easily be read as continuing in the lyric tradition to which this poem is at least in part adhering.³ The recent opening of Cyrene again to foreign scholars has occasioned considerable interest in the ruins of several religious monuments

² Claus (1986).

³ For Callim. *Hymn* 2.1–9 cf. e.g. Sapph. fr. 2 Voigt, even Alc. fr. 140 Voigt makes a good comparison here.

there, and the poetic works that may have been performed there or may outline these monuments in their verses.

Though my primary interest in these pages will be Theocritus, Callimachus provides a good starting-point for this discussion due to two *testimonia* that in fact associate him with theater performance specifically. The first is the Byzantine Suda life of Callimachus, which includes the statement (Suda v. Καλλίμαχος 11–14) τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ βιβλίων ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτα· Ἰοῦς ἄφιξις, Σεμέλη, Ἄργους οἰκισμός, Ἀρκαδία, Γλαῦκος, Ἑλπίδες, σατυρικά δράματα, τραγωδίαί, κωμωδίαί, μέλη, Ἴβις . . . “Of his books are also these: *Arrival of Io*, *Semele*, *Foundation of Argos*, *Arcadia*, *Glaukos*, *Hopes*, satyr plays, tragedies, comedies, lyric poems, *Ibis* . . .” This list is problematic for many reasons, not the least being the absence of almost all of the extant poetic titles (with the exception of the *Ibis*) of Callimachus, conversely that many of those here are unknown to us.⁴ What this list *does* do is attribute authorship of theatrical works in all three dramatic genres (satyr-play, tragedy, comedy) to Callimachus. While some scholars have been uncomfortable with this attribution, the case of Ovid’s *Medea* might make us hesitate to dismiss it too quickly. Would we ascribe a tragedy to this Augustan poet if we did not happen to know of one?

Further, tragedy figures in four of Callimachus’ epigrams (7, 8, 48, 59 Pf. = 57, 58, 26, 59 Gow–Page), a surprising number from a relatively small, varied corpus (sixty-two extant poems of certain attribution to Callimachus, eleven are erotic, nine epideictic etc.). Not, in this case, allusion to earlier tragedy, or tragedies, but the genre and its features themselves: tragic masks (48 Pf.), tragic competition (7 Pf.) tragic speech (8 Pf.) and tragic composition (59 Pf.). *Ep.* 48 features a tragic mask now hung in a school-room where, its gaping mouth now voiceless, it listens eternally to schoolboys repeating the phrase from Euripides’ *Bacchae* (494) ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος “this lock is holy.” The irony lies in the reversal of one-time speaker (the mask) and audience (for now the audience speaks),⁵ as well as a reversal of pedagogic stance (in the *Bacchae* the instructive Dionysus utters this line to the youth Pentheus, who is trying to learn about his exotic prisoner). The epigram telescopes a schoolboy’s experience of the classroom, the opening reference to the Glaucus and Diomedes episode from *Iliad* 6 (lines 2–3) and the closing one

⁴ Pfeiffer (1968) 128 suggested that this biography was meant to accompany an edition of Callimachus’ collected poems, and that therefore the titles in fact *in* the collection would not be those listed here (this would work especially if we take καὶ adverbially, “of his books are also these”), but the argument seems stretched.

⁵ For an elegant analysis of speech in this poem see Cusset in Acosta-Hughes, Lehnus and Stephens (2011).

to the *Bacchae* (line 6) evoking the type of Greek poetry schoolboys would in fact learn. *Ep.* 7 addresses the god Dionysus, and celebrates the poet's friend Theaetetus for his poetic style,⁶ his *sophia* (line 4) that results from its pursuit along a "pure road" of composition. The poem, once thought to be an indication of Callimachus' distaste for tragedy, is now more often read, like the more famous *Aetia* fr. 1, as a statement about style rather than genre. *Ep.* 8 Pf., again addressed to Dionysus, evokes the agonistic setting of tragic competition. A play on language throughout, it casts the aesthetically successful poet (line 1: καλὰ πρήσσοντι ποιητῇ) in terms of victory (line 2: νικῶ). The poem has occasionally been read as praise for short compositions, but this is to overlook the humor of the epigram's ending: βραχυσυλλαβίη, "syllabic" brevity, is (deliberately) an ironically long word in apposition to line 2, νικῶ, object of the speaker's prayer. Finally *Ep.* 59 Pf. refers to the "poet's" own tragic composition (assuming the speaker here to be Callimachus, there is no apparent reason not to).⁷ The language of this epigram, playful though the poem be, is revealing: line 4: αἰ χῆν δρᾶμ' ἐδίδαξε μόνον "had he directed one play" is in fact the technical language of instructing a tragic chorus; lines 5–6: τοῦτο ποήσας / κῆγῶ "and I, who did this/composed this" is here a double entendre that includes poetic composition.

So we have four epigrams that rely on familiarity with tragic performance for their effect, and suggest not only knowledge of tragic composers on the part of Callimachus, but even his own tragic composition. How are we to understand their reception? Is their reception conceivably possible by an audience unfamiliar with tragedy? Not in this case so much texts, but its conventions?

There is a final piece that may shed light on Callimachus and tragedy. Fr. 215 Pf. ἥτις τραγῳδὸς μοῦσα ληκυθίζουσα "this hollow-sounding tragic Muse" is a choliambic line that Pfeiffer suggested in his commentary on fr. 215 might belong to fr. 203, *Iambus* 13, a poem that centers on Callimachus' apologia as an artist of multiple poetic types. The fragment, again a piece sometimes used to suggest the author's aversion to tragedy, at the same time draws an association, choliambic and tragedy, that suggests considering another passage of fr. 203 again. Here the poetic voice, in his own defense,

⁶ Gow (*HE* 2. 210, 520) suggests that this may be the poet of four poems preserved in the *Greek Anthology*, all from Meleagrian contexts, and of two other epigrams preserved by Diogenes Laertius. This identification is not, however, at all certain.

⁷ So D'Alessio (1996), 266–7 n. 79.

poses the rhetorical question, who is responsible for genre assignments? (30–3):⁸

τίς εἶπεν αὐτ[. . .]λε..ρ.[. . .].
 σὺ πεντάμετρα συντίθει, σὺ δ' ἡ[ρῶο]ν,
 σὺ δὲ τραγῳδε[ῖν] ἐκ θεῶν ἐκκληρώσω;
 δοκέω μὲν οὐδεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ το. δ. . κεψαι

who said . . . you compose pentameters, you [the heroic], your lot from the gods is to compose tragedy?

A later prose summary of this fragmentary poem tells us that in it Callimachus defended his generic versatility (*polyeideia*) to those who faulted him for it, and that in doing so he used the parallel of the fifth-century polymath Ion of Chios (whom the author of the summary names τὸν τραγικόν “the tragic poet”), author of both poetic and prose genres.⁹ That the poet of *Iambus* 13 evokes a tragic author as a paradigm is not in itself so remarkable, but does highlight the question, whom are we to understand by the σὺ of lines 31–2? The question phrased in these lines is obviously a rhetorical one, but is not its very posing more effective if understood as relevant to the “I” of line 33? Callimachus is obviously the author of elegy (πεντάμετρα); while there remains some uncertainty about the referent (and even the reading) of line 31 ἡ[ρῶο]ν,¹⁰ the real issue here is line 32 τραγῳδε[ῖν]. In posing a rhetorical question that answers his critics, does it not make rather more sense if the question is at least in part relevant to the poet who poses it, Callimachus, or his poetic voice, the “I” of line 33 δοκέω?

The methodological shift in approach to Callimachus that illuminates the moments in his poetry evoking song performance suggests a different picture from the one of the purely bookish aesthete once widely propagated.¹¹ The same shift in approach applied to Callimachus’ references to tragedy

⁸ On this passage in greater detail see Acosta-Hughes (2002) 82–9.

⁹ *P. Milan* 1 18 col. ix lines 32–7: Μοῦσαι καλαὶ κάπολλον, οἷς ἐγὼ σπένδω· Ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς καταμεφομέν / νους αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυειδεῖα ὧν / γράφει ποιημάτων ἀπαντῶν φησιν ὅτι / Ἴωνα μιμεῖται τὸν τραγικόν· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸν τέκτονά τις μέμφεται πολυειδῆ / σκευὴ τεκταινόμενον “Fair Muses and Apollo, to whom I make my libation.” In this he says to those who fault him for the variety of poems he writes that he is imitating Ion the tragic poet. Nor does anyone find fault with a builder for creating a variety of artifacts” (translation Acosta-Hughes [2002] 69).

¹⁰ Conventionally understood as “heroic verses,” D’Alessio (1996) 647; Acosta-Hughes (2002) 88. An alternative reading of this metrical shape (end of a choliambic line, so three long syllables, allowing for *brevis in longo* at line-end) is not immediately obvious.

¹¹ For an in-depth study of Callimachus and performance see Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012) ch. 2.

and tragic performance suggests a larger presence, not so much of poetic allusion to tragic poetry (already a given), but to the *Ding an sich*, to tragedy the art form.

It is with this methodological shift in mind that I turn for the remainder of this paper to another poet of the same Ptolemaic court, Theocritus. A number of moments in the extant poetry of this third-century BC artist evoke song performance,¹² many suggest poetic competition. A few of his poems are very likely to have been occasional court pieces (particularly *Idylls* 17 and 24). And then there is the question of Theocritus' three urban mimes. While the aggregate of these factors does not make Theocritus into, for example, a tragedian per se, it does suggest that a fair degree of performative material may underlie the poems that we now know solely as the objects of our own private reading. These three categories, indications of performance, imagery of song competition, and the nature of Theocritus' urban mimes (*Idylls* 2, 14 and 15), are the main focal points of my analysis in the pages that follow.

I close my introductory remarks on Theocritus with a few words on the poet himself. Originally from Syracuse, Theocritus spent a significant part of his creative life at Alexandria in the early years of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. While the chronology of the early Ptolemaic poets evades easy outline, it is the case that in Theocritus' poetry Arsinoe II is still alive (so at least *Idylls* 15 and 17, and one might add 18, are first composed before 270), and Ptolemy I and his wife Berenice I are portrayed as recently dead. From what we have there is some reason to place Theocritus (and for that matter the epigrammatist Posidippus) among the earlier poets active at the court of Ptolemy II.¹³ And it is to a passage from Theocritus' *Encomium to Ptolemy*, *Idyll* 17, that I now turn.

¹² See Acosta-Hughes (2006); Pretagostini (2009) 14–29.

¹³ In the collection of new epigrams attributed to Posidippus, Arsinoe II, the figure celebrated by most of the poems in the section entitled ἀναθηματικά (*Ep.* 36–41 Austin–Bastianini) is dead. D. L. Thompson (2005) 273–9 has convincingly demonstrated that the figure of the princess Berenice in the ἱππικά (*Ep.* 71–88 Austin–Bastianini) is Berenice *Syra*, the daughter of Ptolemy II and sister of Ptolemy III, and wife of Antiochus II of Syria, whom she married in 252; cf. however Huss (2008). At least the poems that figure her predate her marriage. The case with Callimachus is slightly more complicated, or rather reflects a longer artistic career. The *Hymn to Zeus* is widely believed to have been composed for the *Basileia* celebrating the co-regency of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II (285 BC). The one-line hexameter fragment on the wedding of Arsinoe (fr. 392) would celebrate an event that occurred before 274/3; the poem in archebuleans on the death of Arsinoe (fr. 228 Pf.) one in 270. Fr. 110 (*Lock of Berenice*) dates to 246 (accession of Ptolemy III, Third Syrian War). The one piece that presents certain problems is fr. 384 (*Victory of Sosibius*); if this is for Sosibius the minister of Ptolemy IV (reigned 222–221), then Callimachus' poetic career would have spanned most of the third century BC.

Language of performance

Theocritus *Idyll* 17 is a poetic encomium in honor of Ptolemy II Philadelphus,¹⁴ closely and deliberately modeled on the style of hexameter hymn. The poem itself opens with a gesture at performance:

ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε Μοῖσαι,
ἀθανάτων τὸν ἄριστον, ἐπὴν †ἀείδωμεν ἀοιδαῖς·
ἀνδρῶν δ' αὖ Πτολεμαῖος ἐνὶ πρώτοισι λεγέσθω
καὶ πύματος καὶ μέσσης· ὁ γὰρ προφερέστατος ἀνδρῶν.

From Zeus let us begin and, Muses, end with Zeus, best of the immortals, whenever we sing out in song.¹⁵ But of men let Ptolemy be proclaimed first, and last, and in the middle. For he is the greatest of men.

The standard commentary take on the poem's opening is to highlight the parallel opening phrase of Aratus' *Phaenomena*,¹⁶ and to then segue to the relationship of the two poets. This is however *one* contemporary parallel. Another is Callimachus' *Hymn to Zeus*, which does, literally, begin with Zeus:

Ζηνὸς ἔοι τί κεν ἄλλο παρὰ σπονδῆσιν ἀείδειν
λῶριον ἢ θεὸν αὐτόν, ἀεὶ μέγαν, αἰὲν ἄνακτα,

Than Zeus what better to sing at libations than the god himself, ever great, ever lord

All three texts recall a trope frequent in both hexameter hymn and lyric,¹⁷ but what makes the Callimachus parallel of especial interest to us is that it happens to also be a poem that celebrates Ptolemy II Philadelphus in terms of Zeus (thus drawing the attendant implicit equation), and, further, is a celebratory poem that is generally believed to have been performed on a specific occasion, the celebration of the co-regency of Ptolemy I and his son in 285 BC. Theocritus *Idyll* 24 (*Heracliscus*) is believed to have been composed for the same occasion.¹⁸ It seems very sensible to deduce that *Idyll* 17 was also composed to mark an occasion in the early part of Ptolemy II's reign; his full sister Arsinoe is his wife and still alive, so in the period c. 276/5 to 270.¹⁹ Given the prominent place of divine wedding imagery in

¹⁴ On the generic models of this poem see Hunter (2003) 8–24.

¹⁵ The text of line 2 is uncertain, though the sense is fairly clear.

¹⁶ Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέποτε ἄνδρες ἔωμεν / ἄρρητον “let us begin from Zeus, whom let us never let go unspoken.” Aratus *Phaen.* 1–2.

¹⁷ See Gow (1952) 2.327; Hunter (2003) 97–8. ¹⁸ Stephens (2003) 123–7.

¹⁹ Arsinoe II returned to Egypt from her disastrous second marriage to her half-brother Ptolemy Ceraunus around 279 (see Justin 17.2; 24.2–3); in the Pithom Stele she is married to her

the poem (Heracles and Hebe, lines 28–33, incidentally half-brother and sister; Zeus and Hera, lines 127–34, full brother and sister, as are Ptolemy and Arsinoe; and the marital fidelity of Berenice I to Ptolemy I, lines 34–44), the wedding of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, or an event associated with it, is a not unlikely venue for *Idyll* 17.²⁰

At the conclusion of his catalogue of Ptolemy's deeds and possessions, the singer of *Idyll* 17 highlights the monarch's patronage of the arts (Theocr. 17.112–20):

οὐδὲ Διωνύσου τις ἀνὴρ ἱεροὺς κατ' ἀγῶνας
ἵκετ' ἐπιστάμενος λιγυράν ἀναμέλψαι ᾠοιδάν,
ᾧ οὐ δωτίναν ἀντάξιον ὥπασε τέχνας.
Μουσάων δ' ὑποφῆται αἰείδοντι Πτολεμαῖον 115
ἀντ' εὐεργεσίας. τί δὲ κάλλιον ἀνδρί κεν εἶη
ὀλβίῳ ἢ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἀρέσθαι;
τοῦτο καὶ Ἀτρεΐδαισι μένει· τὰ δὲ μυρία τῆνα
ὅσσα μέγαν Πριάμοιο δόμον κτεάτισσαν ἐλόντες
ἄερι πρὶ κέρυπται ὄθεν πάλιν οὐκέτι νόστος. 120

Nor is there any man involved with the holy contests of Dionysus, one who knows how to strike up a clear song, to whom he doesn't render a gift commensurate of his art. And prompters of Muses sing of Ptolemy for his benevolence, and what could be fairer for a prosperous man than to attain good fame among men? This remains even for the sons of Atreus. But whatever the myriad possessions they had on taking the great house of Priam, these are hidden somewhere in the air from whence there is no more return.

Let me begin with a point on text and translation here. Conventionally the passage is rendered as a continuous statement on poets generally (so Gow and, more recently, Verity²¹), although the length of the passage (most of the individual sections of this catalogue praise poem are much shorter), as well as the transition from singular referent at 112–14 to plural at 115, marked by the δέ of line 115, might suggest two referents here. Hunter in his 2003 UC rendition is surely right to mark the two passages, 112–14 and 115–20, as distinct.²² Hunter further observes that “although Διωνύσου probably belongs primarily with ἀγῶνας, the word order groups Διωνύσου τις ἀνὴρ, which unmistakably evokes the ‘Artists of Dionysus,’” the figures mentioned

brother Ptolemy II in 274 (Fraser [1972] 2.367 n. 228). Other than this we can only conjecture; assuming that the removal of her step-daughter Arsinoe I and the remaining two elder brothers of Ptolemy II must have taken at least a little time, a date closer to 274 than 278 seems not unlikely.

²⁰ See Acosta-Hughes (forthcoming). ²¹ Gow (1952); Verity (2002).

²² Hunter (2003) 89.

in the “Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus” (Ath. 5.198b).²³ I think we can take this one step further, for the apposition here contrasts the Διωνύσου τις ἀνὴρ of line 112 with the Μουσάων δ’ ὑποφῆται of line 115. To each is given a different function (this reflects the poetic economy of *Idyll* 17, one which achieves a monument of praise in a comparatively short space). The man who goes to the “holy contests” knows how to strike up song; the Μουσάων δ’ ὑποφῆται give Ptolemy κλέος “lasting fame” in return for his εὐεργεσία, benevolence. Dramatic performance, however invoked here, is contrasted with praise poetry or even hymn, of which the present poem gives itself as an example, as the concluding lines (135–7) of the poem make clear.

Χαῖρε, ἄναξ Πτολεμαῖε· σέθεν δ’ ἐγὼ ἴσα καὶ ἄλλων
μνάσσομαι ἡμιθέων, δοκέω δ’ ἔπος οὐκ ἀπόβλητον
φθέγγομαι ἔσσομένοις· ἀρετὴν γε μὲν ἐκ Διὸς αἰτεῦ.

Hail, lord Ptolemy. I will mention you equally with other demigods, nor think I that I utter a word that men to come will reject. But excellence seek from Zeus.

An unequivocal support for this reading of 17.112–20 comes from *Idyll* 16.23–33:

οὐχ ὅδε πλούτου φρονέουσιν ὄνασις,
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ψυχᾶ, τὸ δέ ποῦ τινα δοῦναι ὁιοδῶν·
πολλοὺς εὖ ἔρξαι παῶν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλων
ἀνθρώπων, αἶει δὲ θεοῖς ἐπιβώμια ῥέζειν,
μηδὲ ξεινοδόκον κακὸν ἔμμεναι ἀλλὰ τραπέζῃ
μειλίζαντ’ ἀποπέμψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐθέλωντι νέεσθαι,
Μοισάων δὲ μάλιστα τίειν ἱεροὺς ὑποφήτας,
ὄφρα καὶ εἰν Αἴδαο κεκρυμμένος ἐσθλὸς ἀκούσης, 30
μηδ’ ἀκλεὴς μύρηαι ἐπὶ ψυχροῦ Ἀχέροντος,
ὥσεί τις μακέλα τετυλωμένος ἔνδοθι χεῖρας
ἄχην ἐκ πατέρων πενίην ἀκτήμονα κλαίων.

This is not the benefit of wealth to thinking men, rather to give to what one desires, perhaps to some poet, to do well by many of one’s kin, and many other men, and ever to make sacrifice to the gods, nor to be a bad host, but to treat the stranger well at table and send him on his way when he wishes. And especially to honor the holy Muses’ interpreters, that even hidden in Hades you may be well spoken of, and not be mourned without honor at cold Acheron, like one whose palms are calloused from the mattock, some poor man from poor men who laments his empty poverty.

²³ Hunter (2003) 182–3.

This passage, also in an encomiastic poem (to Hiero II of Syracuse), outlines to a greater length the role of singer of praise in giving his subject immortality, and also features the phrase (line 29) Μοισάων . . . ὑποφήτας. The two passages are often treated together, but the difference, the presence of Dionysiac contests and their singers in 17.112–14, and the corresponding absence of this element in the passage from *Idyll* 16, has gone largely, strangely, unnoticed. In a long catalogue of the Egyptian king's wealth and martial exploits in *Idyll* 17, the *Encomium to Ptolemy*, however, the last item highlighted before we turn to his (and his family's) immortality is his generosity to praise poets. And the one before that is, I would suggest, his patronage of Dionysus' artists, of agonistic poetic performance. It's worth mentioning here the later group of artists from Ptolemais-Hermiou who call themselves οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνουσον καὶ Θεοῦς Ἀδελφούς (OGIS 50–1) "those concerned with Dionysus and the *Theoi Adelphoi*."²⁴ The *Theoi Adelphoi* are Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe II, the cult title aligns them with the cult of Alexander. Dionysus here does double duty; he is both the god of theater, and the Ptolemies claim descent from him. He is thus patron of both artists and king.

Idyll 18, *Helen's Epithalamium*, is (in this author's opinion) one of the best of the non-bucolic poems; unfortunately it is little studied, perhaps for lack of a detailed commentary.²⁵ *Idylls* 16, 17 and 18, albeit only in this order in the Vatican family of manuscripts,²⁶ have a number of features in common, particularly the contrast of male (16 and 17) versus female praise (18), the extensive use of lyric models, and, in the case of 17 and 18, their significance for the ruling Ptolemies. I add just a little background on *Idyll* 18 for readers of this volume who may be unfamiliar with the poem. Set in geographically and temporally distant Sparta (the poem opens "Once upon a time in Sparta," "Ἐν ποκ' ἄρα Σπάρτῃ"), the poem opens with a short narrative frame (8 lines) that sets the scene – twelve girls, Helen's age-mates, sing and dance the marriage song at the bed-chamber door:

Ἐν ποκ' ἄρα Σπάρτῃ ξανθότριχι παρ Μενελάω
 παρθενικαὶ θάλλοντα κόμαις ὑάκινθον ἔχοισαι
 πρόσθε νεογράπτω θαλάμῳ χορὸν ἐστάσαντο,
 δώδεκα ταῖ πρᾶται πόλιος, μέγα χρῆμα Λακαινᾶν,
 ἀνίκα Τυνδαρίδα κατεκλέξατο τὰν ἀγαπατάν
 μναστεύσας Ἑλέναν ὁ νεώτερος Ἄτρεος υἱῶν.

²⁴ Weber 1993: 174 n. 3, 410 n. 1; for detailed study see Le Guen (2001) and Lightfoot (2002).

²⁵ A detailed commentary of this poem by F. Lavin of the École Normale Supérieure Lettres et Sciences Humaines (Lyons) is forthcoming.

²⁶ On the codices of Theocritus see Gutzwiller (1996) 139–42.

ἄειδον δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἐς ἓν μέλος ἐγκροτέοισαι
ποσσὶ περιπλέκτοισ, ὑπὸ δ' ἴαχε δῶμ' ὕμεναίω.

Once in Sparta at the home of shining-haired Menelaus girls with flowering hyacinth in their hair set up a dance before the new painted chamber, twelve were they, first of the city, a great marvel of Laconia, when the younger of Atreus' sons locked in his beloved Helen, whom he had won. All the girls sang stamping out a song with intertwining feet, and the house resounded from the wedding tune.

Helen and Menelaus, but especially Helen, have a particular valence for the Ptolemies. A goddess in Sparta (this is invoked later in the poem), Helen and Menelaus are early mythologically connected with Egypt, and Helen's divine status serves as a convenient model for the divinity-seeking Arsinoe II, she who is (Theocr. 15.110), in a moment of wonderful resonance of Sappho, "like Helen,"²⁷ the bride celebrated in a tapestry of images from lyric, particularly Sappho, in *Idyll* 18.

This poem has many remarkable features, not least its rich resonance of echoes from Sappho, famed in antiquity for her *epithalamia*, including several from the new Sappho fragment, and also its play with sung and written song (note e.g. in this passage the implicit pun in line 3 νεογράφτω).²⁸ Yet my interest here is rather the moments in the song that evoke performance, and indeed the first is the poem's *introit*.

After a certain amount of ritual joshing of the bungling (and apparently hung-over) bridegroom, the chorus of young girls turns to praise of all of Helen's characteristics, those very charms that will now be lost to their company. The acme of this praise catalogue is Helen's talent as singer (lines 35–7).

οὐ μὰν οὐδὲ λύραν τις ἐπίσταται ὧδε κροτῆσαι
Ἄρτεμιν ἀείδοισα καὶ εὐρύστερνον Ἀθάναν
ὥς Ἑλένα, τᾶς πάντες ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ἱμεροὶ ἐντί.

Nor knows any one how to strike the lyre thus in singing of Artemis and broad-breasted Athena as Helen, in whose eyes are all desires.

The poem is thus partly bounded by images of dancers and songstress, chorus members and chorus leader. Itself an *epithalamium*, *Idyll* 18 evokes other performance settings in the communal life of young girls, to conclude in the signature Ὡμήν ὦ Ὑμέναιε, γάμῳ ἐπὶ τῷδε χαρεΐης "*Hymen O Hymenaie*, may you rejoice in this marriage."

²⁷ Theocr. *Id.* 15.110–11: ἡ Βερενικεῖα θυγάτηρ, Ἑλένα εἰκνῖα / Ἀρσινόα "the Berenicean daughter, like Helen, Arsinoe . . ."

²⁸ See further Acosta-Hughes (2010) 30–1.

Song competition

Theocritus *Idyll* 15, *The Women at the Adonis Festival*, culminates in the recitation of an Adonis song by a famed singer at the palace (lines 22–4):

βᾶμες τῷ βασιλῆος ἐς ἀφνειῷ Πτολεμαίῳ
 θασόμεναι τὸν Ἀδωνιν· ἀκούω χρῆμα καλόν τι
 κοσμεῖν τὸν βασιλίσσαν.

Let us go to the house of rich Ptolemy to view the Adonis rite, I hear the queen is arranging something splendid.

I will return to this poem as a mime per se in the last part of this paper, but want to focus here on the presentation (through Gorgo, the more sensible of the two Alexandrian ladies who have come to attend the performance), a presentation that, true, has a certain Anna Russell quality (for those familiar with the 1950s opera parodist), but which also evokes performance contests (lines 96–9).

σίγη, Πραξινοά· μέλλει τὸν Ἀδωνιν ἀεῖδειν
 ἃ τᾶς Ἀργείας θυγάτηρ, πολὺιδρις ἀοιδός,
 ἄτις καὶ πέρυσιν τὸν ἰάλεμον ἀρίστευσε.
 φθεγξέται τι, σάφ' οἶδα, καλόν· διαχρέμπτεται ἤδη.

Do be quiet, Praxinoa. She's about to sing the Adonis song, the Argive woman's daughter, a very practiced singer. She's the one who won in the dirge last year. She'll do a lovely rendition, I know it. She's already clearing her throat.

The song, “the Adonis,” is familiar to both women; the singer is experienced or has in fact composed it: she is πολὺιδρις, an adjective that corresponds to the terms of poetic excellence used of the tapestries, woven by women, that our two audience members were viewing at the palace just prior to this recital. Her excellence, or artistic success, in singing the dirge for Adonis, is proven by previous competition. The success of her performance, as Gorgo marks in her departing comments at the end of the poem (lines 145–6), is due both to her poetic skill and the sweetness of her voice (though I should perhaps add that many readers of this poem in fact find this a pretty dreadful song).

Πραξινοά, τὸ χρῆμα σοφώτατον ἃ θήλεια·
 ὀλβία ὅσσα ἴσατι, πανολβία ὡς γλυκὺ φωνεῖ.

Praxinoa, what a clever thing the woman is! Happy one who knows so much, and especially in her sweet voice!

The women's experience at Arsinoe's palace juxtaposes works of weaving with song; that is, there is a comparison, even an implied *agon*, of the dead Adonis represented in woven textile and the dead Adonis presented in song. Surprisingly (this point deserves rather more attention than it has usually received, but then these two poems are not often compared together), Theocritus *Idyll* 1 has the same competition, here more explicitly, of art object (the goatherd's milking vessel) and Thyrsis' song of the dying Adonis. The presentation of Thyrsis' singing ability is similar (lines 19–28).

ἀλλὰ τὸ γὰρ δὴ, Θύρσι, τὰ Δάφνιδος ἄλγε' αἶδες
καὶ τᾶς βουκολικᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν ἴκεο μοίσσας,
δεῦρ' ὑπὸ τὸν πτελέαν ἐσδώμεθα τῷ τε Πριήπῳ
καὶ τᾶν κρανίδων κατεναντίον, ἅπερ ὁ θῶκος
τῆνος ὁ ποιμενικὸς καὶ τὰι δρύες. αἱ δέ κ' αἰέσης
ὥς ὅκα τὸν Λιβύαθε ποτὶ Χρόμιν ἄσας ἐρίσδων,
αἴγᾳ τέ τοι δωσῶ διδυματόκον ἐς τρεῖς ἀμέλξαι,
ἃ δὴ' ἔχοισ' ἐρίφως ποταμέλγεται ἐς δύο πέλλας,
καὶ βαθὺν κισσύβιον κεκλυσμένον ἀδεί κηρῶ,
ἀμφῶες, νεοτευχές, ἔτι γλυφάνοιο ποτόσδον.

Yet you, Thyrsis, are wont to sing "The woes of Daphnis" and have arrived at the height of the bucolic Muse. Let us sit here beneath the elm, opposite Priapus and the springs, where there's a shepherd's seat and the oaks. And if you sing as once you sang in contest with Chromis from Libya, I will let you milk a goat, one with twins, three times. For though she has two kids, she still gives two pails of milk. And a deep *kissybion* washed with sweet wax, two handled, new fashioned, yet smelling of the incising knife.

The physical set-up of the singing is the standard *locus amoenus* one, as is the framing of the song's recitation with moments of beginning and closure (I've discussed this at some length elsewhere).²⁹ What's remarkable in the lines just cited, though, is the importation of the outside or "real" world into the bucolic landscape. Chromis from Libya, whether a real figure or an imagined one, is presented here as a known singer, and one who takes part in singing contests. Similarly, Thyrsis has sung this song before, and indeed (in a moment of acute metapoetics) become a bucolic pastoral poet. The conceit of a bucolic *agon*, the two figures of the bucolic landscape taking up a contest in singing with one another, perhaps an imitation of true shepherding song rivalries, is taken to another level where the packaging,

²⁹ Acosta-Hughes (2006) 29–31.

as it were, of true competition, and reputation for victory in song category, now encases fictional bucolic rivalry.

This is even more the case with Lycidas' and Simichidas' self-presentation in *Idyll 7*, the *Thalysia* or *Harvest Festival*. Here the contest takes place on a walk, one deliberately evocative of the opening of Plato's *Phaedrus*, between the poem's narrator, Simichidas (in typical Platonic dialogue fashion, too, the narrative portrays a past discourse), and an enigmatic figure, with both Socratic and Apollonine associations, named Lycidas. The lines with which each characterizes his own artistry are very famous, and I don't need to dwell on them long here, but do want to call attention, again, to the imagery of true song contest (Theocr. 7.37–41 and 90–5).

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μοισᾶν καπυρὸν στόμα, κῆμὲ λέγοντι
πάντες ἀοιδὸν ἄριστον· ἐγὼ δέ τις οὐ ταχυπειθής,
οὐ Δᾶν· οὐ γάρ πω κατ' ἐμὸν νόον οὔτε τὸν ἐσθλὸν
Σικελίδαν νίκημι τὸν ἐκ Σάμω οὔτε Φιλίταν
ἀείδων, βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὥς τις ἐρίσδω.

For all call me the clear-sounding mouth of the Muses, and best singer. But I am not easily persuaded, no, by Zeus. For to my mind I do not win out over the good Sicelidas the Samian nor Philetas, but contest with them as some frog against grasshoppers.

Χῶ μὲν τόσσ' εἰπὼν ἀπεπαύσατο· τὸν δὲ μέτ' αὖθις
κῆγὼν τοῖ' ἐφάμαν· 'Λυκίδα φίλε, πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα
Νύμφαι κῆμὲ δίδαξαν ἄν' ὥρεα βουκολέοντα
ἐσθλά, τά που καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐπὶ θρόνον ἄγαγε φάμα·
ἀλλὰ τόγ' ἐκ πάντων μέγ' ὑπείροχον, ᾧ τυ γεραίρειν
ἄρξεῖμι· ἀλλ' ὑπάκουσον, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἔπλεο Μοίσσαις.

Saying such things he came to an end. And to him I said these words in return. "Dear Lycidas, the Nymphs taught me many other things too as I would herd on the mountainsides, good things. And my fame has reached, I think, the throne of Zeus. But this is the best of all by far, with which I begin to honor you. And do you listen, since you were ever dear to the Muses."

Leaving aside some of the perennial questions that these passages raise, I want to focus here rather on the contest imagery. The first places the singer (here Lycidas) in contest with two real poets (Asclepiades, here "Sicelidas the Samian," and Philetas of Cos, both active in the early reign of Ptolemy II, which concurs well with the chronology we can outline for Theocritus), in language that suggests repeated performance (the reputation for being the "best" of singers can only be the result of performances/competitions

plural). The “frog competing with grasshoppers” nicely brings a bucolic, even Aesopic moment into this startling image of court poetic performance (one of the instances of the “Chinese box” aspect of *Idyll* 7, there are many others). Simichidas, in response, asserts his own artistic success, including a fame that has “reached, I think, the throne of Zeus,” that is, Ptolemy Philadelphus – again this reputation that has brought the name of the country-dwelling Simichidas to the ear of the Egyptian king can only be imagined as the result of public performance.

Theocritus’ mimes

Inevitably any discussion of Theocritus and performance must come round to his so-called “urban mimes,” *Idylls* 2, 14 and 15. First a word on what these are, and then an outline of the problem, with a tentative novel solution.

Mime in its original form is a kind of skit in prose, usually with what we may term stock characters; mime originated in Sicily, although it has some parallels with iambic poetry, especially with the papyrus fragments of Hipponax.³⁰ Mime as a literary type (although I want to come back to one of the dangers of this distinction momentarily) was especially associated in Antiquity with Sophron, a Syracusan author of the fifth century whose work enjoyed a fairly wide popularity, and whose fragments are now conveniently collected in the 2004 edition of J. H. Hordern, who has done much to bring a number of the important lost “links” in later fifth- and fourth-century Greek literature back to our attention.³¹ Aristotle (*Poet.* 1. 1447a28) classes Sophron’s mimes with Socratic dialogue; both would constitute mimetic prose. Sophron’s characters are for the most part drawn from common people, scenes may take place outside or inside, figures may be male or female (Sophron’s mimes were in fact divided into *μῆμοι ἀνδρεῖοι* and *μῆμοι γυναικεῖοι*). There is a general interest in what Bakhtin terms “the lower bodily stratum,” which Sophron shares with Old Comedy, as also the presence of small and mundane objects of the kitchen or boudoir (onions, lobsters, dildos etc.).

³⁰ The extant fragments of Hipponax present unusual challenges to the modern reader trying to assess this poet. His poetry was trawled for unusual words, thus the fragments preserved in the indirect tradition offer something of a lexicographical harvest. The papyrus fragments, though, suggest something more like mime, with multiple voices and physical action.

³¹ For further discussion of Sophron and of the tradition of mime as it evolves in Herodas see Kutzko this volume.

The later nineteenth century saw, among other papyrus discoveries, the publication of a papyrus (*British Library* P. 135) of nine mimes in choliambic meter (iambic trimeter with a marked spondaic ending) composed by Herodas (or Herondas, we know almost nothing of this poet other than what little we can derive from the poems). The reference in the first mime to the cult of the θεοὶ Ἀρτέμιδος (line 30, the Alexandrian cult of Ptolemy II and his sister-wife Arsinoe II) gives a sort of *terminus*, as the cult was instantiated in the late 270s while Arsinoe was still living, but beyond this there is little that we establish even conjecturally about this author, including his relationship to other Alexandrian poets.³² He models himself on the sixth-century iambic poet Hipponax, whose unusual meter, the choliamb, and whose dialect, or an imitation thereof, he reproduces. The characters are drawn from the common folk, the situations are what used to loosely be termed “vulgar” (trial of a pimp, commentary on a dildo, chiding a schoolmaster for not beating a child sufficiently). There was a time when the standard approach to Herodas was to juxtapose his mimes with those of Theocritus to the disadvantage of the former and the advantage of the latter; Herodas was the example of low-level realism of which Theocritus was the more refined and more “literary” version (i.e. his mimetic poems, more replete with allusion to earlier authors and metrically more elegant, were the reading of a finer audience). The problem with this approach is less the favorable judgment of Theocritus (whose second and fifteenth *Idylls*, certainly, are real feats of poetic artistry) than the simplistic assessment of Herodas. A poet who consciously imitates the meter and dialect of a sixth-century Ionian singer of invective in third-century Alexandria is clearly not composing popular anything – the subject material may not be of elevated characters, but the medium is rather a different story (and here *Old Comedy* makes an instructive parallel).

Theocritus’ three mimes, sometimes termed “urban” mimes, although this title can be misleading, are perhaps his poems that garner the most favor with the modern audience, or, to put it another way, are the most approachable. Each of these has, particularly in terms of discussing its recitation or performance, its own structure. *Idyll* 2, *Pharmakeutria*, the “Sorceress or Druggist,” is a solo aria; the figure of the abused maid, a standard presence in women’s mime, is addressed several times by the

³² Ptolemy II owned mimes, and it is very likely that mimes were performed as palace entertainments (Csapo 2010a: 177–8), an observation helpfully made to me by one of the referees of this volume. In this case, the metatheater of *Idyll* 15 is especially effective, as we have here a literary mime that itself references the palace setting, and royal patrons, of mime the art form.

singer in the first half of the poem, but does not speak. The *Idyll*'s structure consists of two distinct parts, the latter cast as a monody, with the signal beginning (lines 64–5):

Νῦν δὴ μῶνα ἑοῖσα πόθεν τὸν ἔρωτα δακρύσω;
ἐκ τίνος ἄρξωμαι; τίς μοι κακὸν ἄγαγε τοῦτο;

Now that I'm alone, from what point shall I weep for my love? Where shall I begin?
Who led me to this misfortune?

Idyll 14, *Aeschines and Thyonicus*, opens as a dialogue between two friends, one of whom (Aeschines) then relates at some length his recent disastrous erotic experience, to which his interlocutor (Thyonicus) suggests he go join the army; the last part of the poem, Thyonicus' response, allows for an easy insertion of several lines of praise for the current ruler of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus. *Idyll* 15, *The Women at the Adonis Festival*, is more complex in its structure, and it is this poem in particular on which I wish to focus in the closing paragraphs of this paper, as, in terms of potential performance, this poem raises some of the more interesting questions. The *Idyll* features two women, Gorgo and Praxinoa, a variety of figures who have cameo appearances (this is very reminiscent of Old Comedy, the various characters selling their wares to the founders of Cloudcuckooland in *Birds* is one instance that comes to mind), and the singer of the *Adonis Song* of the last part of the poem. The setting of the poem is imagined as in three places: Praxinoa's home at which Gorgo arrives at the beginning of the *idyll* (this sort of domestic scene is fairly common in mime with female characters); the journey from home to royal palace (a peregrination that, as Joan Burton has effectively shown, responds in several ways to Homer's *Odyssey*);³³ and then the scene at the palace, with its contrasting viewing of tapestries and listening to the singer's recitation – both the tapestries and the song center on Adonis dead in erotic languor. The poem includes as well a certain amount of what might be termed in another context “metatheater”: the careful dressing scene at the beginning, the misconstruction of dialect, even the play on figures within a song going to be the audience of a song. As several scholars have noted (especially again Joan Burton is useful here),³⁴ the two main figures are contrasting character types: Gorgo's practicality and good sense contrast with Praxinoa's quick temper and easy hysteria.

So why assume that such a work, which includes ms. indications of individual characters, is not designed, at least conceptually, for performance? The standard objections, that the scenes alternate too quickly, that the

³³ Burton (1995) 15–17, 173–5.

³⁴ Burton (1995) 34, 53–62 *passim*.

“characters” are too psychologically complex (I must admit that this is a very hard point to make for either Gorgo or Praxinoa), that the poem is too allusive in terms of its recollection of earlier literature, could all be easily advanced in the case of any play of Aristophanes (and in some ways *Lysistrata* makes a good point of comparison). I would suggest that the problem here lies with the term (to cite, but not to blame, J. H. Hordern) “literary mime,” and the general understanding of what this means. At one level the point is simply that there are types of mime that are more developed than simple street theater skits. But it has definitely come to imply that these are not meant for performance but for individual reading.

I would like to close here by considering this problem from a different angle. Assuming, as we certainly can, that by “reading” we mean reading aloud, and/or recitation, what then constitutes performance? A simple change in voice inflection could mark different figures within the poem (and I would suggest here that all of us with small children consider how we take on the impersonations of different figures in reading children’s stories). The dressing scene in particular would seem to suggest performative possibilities, so too the easy banter on the street approaching the palace. The assumption that the originally Sicilian genre on arrival in a more sophisticated Alexandria evolved into poetry marked, as it were, for performance that is intended in fact to be read is fraught with problems and a good deal of anachronism.

I return in closing to the example of Horace’s *Carmen Saeculare*. As it happens, we know this was performed. A poem like Catullus 61 or 62 would be another case where we might want to reconsider; though these come to be in a collection of logical ordering, or so it seems to us, there is really not so much reason to assume that these are poems that “imitate” wedding songs, they could also actually be wedding songs. A caveat, a simple thing, but one worth keeping in mind; it is we who encounter ancient performance and/or occasional poetry as literature that we read. A poem like *Idyll* 17, with which I began this discussion, is a good case in point – it is extremely unlikely that the Egyptian king sat down and perused this, its intended context was surely some court occasion now unknown to us. We respond, of course, to poetry as we encounter it, as texts that we read. But we must be very careful of making this assumption of the original audience.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

Abbreviations used throughout the volume are those used in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth, 3rd rev. edn. (Oxford, 2003), with the addition of the following:

AA	<i>Archäologische Anzeiger</i>
AC	<i>Antiquité Classique</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AnnPisa	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa</i>
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
ArchClass	<i>Archeologia Classica</i>
ArchStorSicOr	<i>Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale</i>
BdA	<i>Bollettino d'Arte</i>
BSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
ChronA	<i>Chronache di archeologia e storia dell'arte</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
IGD	A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, <i>Illustrations of Greek Drama</i> (London and New York 1971)
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
LCS	A. D. Trendall, <i>The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily</i> (Oxford 1967) with <i>Suppl. 1</i> (<i>BICS Suppl.</i> 26, London 1970), <i>Suppl. 2</i> (<i>BICS Suppl.</i> 31, London 1973), <i>Suppl. 3</i> (<i>BICS Suppl.</i> 41, London 1983)
Magna Grecia iv	G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), <i>Magna Grecia</i> : vol. iv: <i>Arte e artigianato</i> (Milan 1990)
MAL	<i>Monumenti Antichi. Accademia dei Lincei</i>
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité</i>
MNC ³	J. R. Green and A. Seeberg, revised and enlarged edition of T. B. L. Webster's <i>Monuments Illustrating New Comedy</i> , vols. 1–11 (<i>BICS Suppl.</i> 50, London 1995)
MOMC	J. R. Green, <i>Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy</i> 3rd edn. (<i>BICS Suppl.</i> 39, London 1978)

- MTS² T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, 2nd edn. (BICS Suppl. 20, London 1967)
- MusHelv *Museum Helveticum*
- NSc *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*
- NumAntCl *Numismatica e antichità classiche*
- PCG R. Kassel, and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graecae*, vol. 1 (Berlin/New York 2001)
- PhV A. D. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*, 2nd edn. (BICS Suppl. 19, London 1967)
- Quada *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Messina*
- QuadMusSalinas *Quaderni del Museo Archeologico Regionale "A. Salinas"*
- RA *Revue archéologique*
- RhM *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
- RIA *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte*
- RM *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Mitteilungen*
- RVAp A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red Figured Vases of Apulia* (Oxford 1978/1982)
- RVP A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Paestum*. (London, British School at Rome 1987)
- RVSIS A. D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily: A Handbook* (London 1989)
- SicAnt *Sicilia Antiqua*
- SicA *Sicilia Archeologica*
- SicGymn *Siculorum gymnasium. Rassegna semestrale della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Catania*
- TAPA *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- AA. VV., eds. (1971) *Atti della XIII Riunione Scientifica (Siracusa–Malta, 22–26 ottobre 1968)*. Florence.
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